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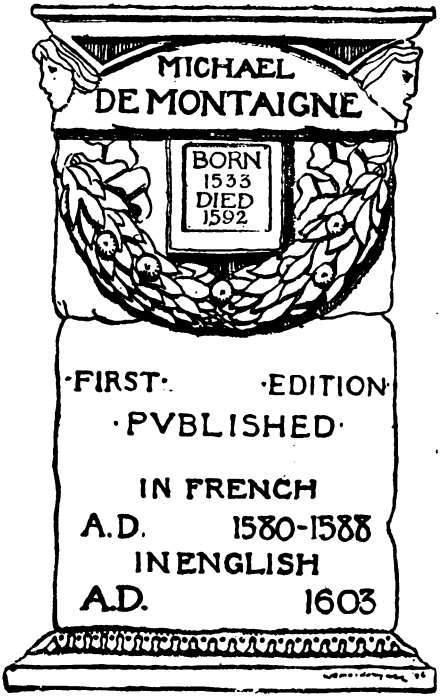
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THE TEMPLE CLASSICS



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Voicy du grand Montaigne vne entiere figure,
Le Peinctre a peinct le corps et luymesme l'esprit:
Le premier par son art egale la Nature,
Le Second la surpasse en tout ce qu'il escrit.

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The ESSAYES of MICHAEL LORD of MONTAIGNE TRANSLATED BY JOHN FLORIO

The first BOOKE

VOLUME 2.

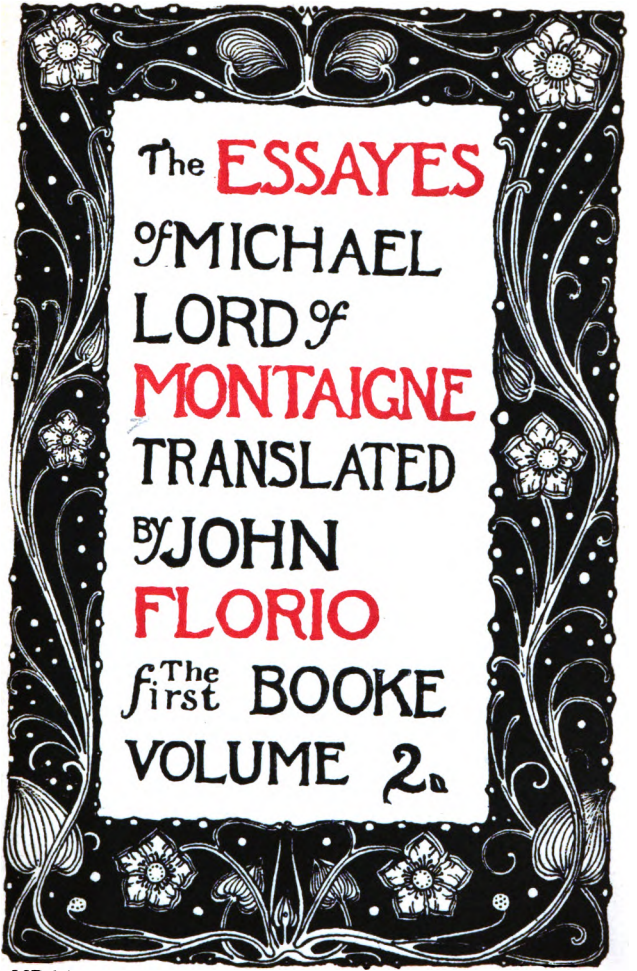
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Voici la grande montagne très ancienne jaune
Qui [illegible] permet le corps et l'immensité
La grande par son arrêt de la Nature
Qui [illegible] la surprise entière qui

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THE ESSAYES OF *MICHAEL* LORD OF MONTAIGNE

The first Booke

CHAP. XXVII

Of friendship

Nature of the essays

CONSIDERING the proceeding of a Painters worke I have; a desire hath possessed mee to imitate him: He maketh choice of the most convenient place and middle of everie wall, there to place a picture, laboured with all his skill and sufficiencie; and all void places about it he filleth up with antike Boscage or Crotesko works; which are fantasticall pictures, having no grace, but in the variety and strangenesse of them. And what are these my compositions in truth, other than antike workes, and monstrous bodies, patched and hudled up together of divers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependencie, or proportion, but casuall and framed by chance?

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Boëtie's 'Voluntary Servitude'

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.
—Hor. *Art. Poe.* 4.
A woman faire for parts superior,
Ends in a fish for parts inferior.

Touching this second point I goe as farre as my Painter, but for the other and better part I am farre behinde: for my sufficiency reacheth not so farre, as that I dare undertake, a rich, a polished, and according to true skill, and art-like table. I have advised my selfe to borrow one of *Steven de la Boitie*, who with this kinde of worke shall honour all the world. It is a discourse he entitled, *Voluntary Servitude*, but those who have not knowne him, have since very properly rebaptized the same, *The against one*. In his first youth he writ, by way of Essaie, in honour of libertie against Tyrants. It hath long since beene dispersed amongst men of understanding, not without great and well deserved commendations: for it is full of wit, and containeth as much learning as may be: yet doth it differ much from the best he can do. And if in the age I knew him in, he would have undergone my dessigne, to set his fantasies downe in writing, we should doubtlesse see many rare things, and which would very neerely approch the honour of antiquity: for especially touching that part of natures gifts, I know none may be compared to him. But it was not long of him, that ever this Treatise came to mans view, and I beleeve he never saw it since it first escaped his hands: with certaine other notes concerning the edict of Januarie, famous by reason

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of our intestine warre, which haply may in other places finde their deserved praise. It is all I could ever recover of his reliques (whom when death seized, he by his last will and testament, left with so kinde remembrance, heire and executor of his librarie and writings) besides the little booke, I since caused to be published: To which his pamphlet I am particularly most bounden, forsomuch as it was the instrumentall meane of our first acquaintance. For it was shewed me long time before I saw him; and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addressing, and thus nourishing that unspotted friendship, which we (so long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained betweene us, that truly a man shall not commonly heare of the like; and amongst our moderne men no signe of any such is seene. So many parts are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be counted a wonder, if fortune once in three ages contract the like. There is nothing to which Nature hath more addressed us than to societie. And *Aristotle* saith, *that perfect Law-givers have had more regardfull care of friendship than of justice.* And the utmost drift of it's perfection is this. For generally, all those amities which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnesse or profit, publike or private need, are thereby so much the lesse faire and generous, and so much the lesse true amities, in that they intermeddle other causes, scope, and fruit with friendship, than it selfe alone: Nor doe those foure ancient kindes of friendships,

Montaigne's great friend

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Parents and children

Naturall, sociall, hospitable, and *venerian,* either particularly or conjointly beseeme the same. That from children to parents may rather be termed respect: Friendship is nourished by communication, which by reason of the over-great disparitie cannot bee found in them, and would happly offend the duties of nature: for neither all the secret thoughts of parents can be communicated unto children, lest it might engender an unbeseeming familiaritie betweene them, nor the admonitions and corrections (which are the chiefest offices of friendship) could be exercised from children to parents. There have nations beene found, where, by custome, children killed their parents, and others, where parents slew their children, thereby to avoid the hindrance of enter-bearing one another in after-times: for naturally one dependeth from the ruine of another. There have Philosophers beene found disdaining this naturall conjunction, witnesse *Aristippus,* who being urged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loynes, began to spit, saying, *That also that excrement proceeded from him, and that also we engendred wormes and lice.* And that other man, whom *Plutarke* would have perswaded to agree with his brother, answered, *I care not a straw the more for him, though he came out of the same wombe I did.* Verily the name of Brother is a glorious name, and full of loving kindnesse, and therefore did he and I terme one another sworne brother: but this commixture, dividence, and sharing of goods, this joyning wealth to

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wealth, and that the riches of one shall be the povertie of another, doth exceedingly distemper and distract all brotherly alliance, and lovely conjunction: If brothers should conduct the progresse of their advancement and thrift in one same path and course, they must necessarily oftentimes hinder and crosse one another. Moreover, the correspondencie and relation that begetteth these true and mutually perfect amities, why shall it be found in these? The father and the sonne may very well be of a farre differing complexion, and so [may] brothers: He is my sonne, he is my kinsman; but he may be a foole, a bad, or a peevish-minded man. And then according as they are friendships, which the law and dutie of nature doth command us, so much the lesse of our owne voluntarie choice and libertie is there required unto it: And our genuine libertie hath no production more properly her owne, than that of affection and amitie. Sure I am, that concerning the same I have assaied all that might be, having had the best and most indulgent father that ever was, even to his extremest age, and who from father to sonne was descended of a famous house, and touching this rare-seene vertue of brotherly concord very exemplare: **Father and son**

—*et ipse*
Notus in fratres animi paterni.—Hor. ii. *Od.* ii. 6.

To his brothers knowne so kinde,
As to beare a fathers minde.

To compare the affection toward women unto it, although it proceed from our owne free choise,

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The fire of true friendship

a man cannot, nor may it be placed in this ranke: Her fire, I confesse it

(*—neque enim est dea nescia nostri*
Quæ dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.)

(Nor is that Goddesse ignorant of me,
Whose bitter-sweets with my cares mixed be.)

to be more active, more fervent, and more sharpe. But it is a rash and wavering fire, waving and divers: the fire of an ague subject to fits and stints, and that hath but slender hold-fast of us. In true friendship, it is a generall and universall heat, and equally tempered, a constant and setled heat, all pleasure and smoothnes, that hath no pricking or stinging in it, which the more it is in lustfull love, the more is it but a ranging and mad desire in following that which flies us,

Come segue la lepre il cacciatore
Al freddo, al caldo, alla montagna, al lito,
Ne piu l'estima poi che presa vede,
E sol dietro a chi fugge affretta il piede.
—Arios. can. x. st. 7.

Ev'n as the huntsman doth the hare pursue,
In cold, in heat, on mountaines, on the shore,
But cares no more, when he her tan'e espies,
Speeding his pace, only at that which flies.

As soone as it creepeth into the termes of friendship, that is to say, in the agreement of wils, it languisheth and vanisheth away: enjoying doth lose it, as having a corporall end, and subject to sacietie. On the other side, friendship is enjoyed according as it is desired, it is neither bred, nor nourished, nor increaseth but

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in jovissance, as being spirituall, and the minde being refined by use and custome. Under this chiefe amitie, these fading affections have sometimes found place in me, lest I should speake of him, who in his verses speakes but too much of it. So are these two passions entred into me in knowledge one of another, but in comparison never: the first flying a high, and keeping a proud pitch, disdainfully beholding the other to passe her points farre under it. Concerning marriage, besides that it is a covenant which hath nothing free but the entrance, the continuance being forced and constrained, depending else-where than from our will, and a match ordinarily concluded to other ends: A thousand strange knots are therein commonly to be unknit, able to break the web, and trouble the whole course of a lively affection; whereas in friendship, there is no commerce or busines depending on the same, but it selfe. Seeing (to speake truly) that the ordinary sufficiency of women, cannot answer this conference and communication, the nurse of this sacred bond: nor seeme their mindes strong enough to endure the pulling of a knot so hard, so fast, and durable. And truly, if without that, such a genuine and voluntarie acquaintance might be contracted, where not only mindes had this entire jovissance, but also bodies, a share of the alliance, and where a man might wholy be engaged: It is certaine, that friendship would thereby be more compleat and full: But this sex could never yet by any example attaine unto it, and

Concerning marriage

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A love founded upon physical beauty

is by ancient schooles rejected thence. And this other Greeke licence is justly abhorred by our customes, which notwithstanding, because according to use it had so necessarie a disparitie of ages, and difference of offices betweene lovers, did no more sufficiently answer the perfect union and agreement, which here we require: *Quis est enim iste amor amicitiæ? cur neque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem?* (Cic. *Tusc. Que.* iv.). *For, what love is this of friendship? why doth no man love either a deformed young man, or a beautifull old man?* For even the picture the *Academie* makes of it, will not (as I suppose) disavowe mee, to say thus in her behalfe: That the first furie, enspired by the son of *Venus* in the lovers hart, upon the object of tender youths-flower, to which they allow all insolent and passionate violences, an immoderate heat may produce, was simply grounded upon an externall beauty; a false image of corporall generation: for in the spirit it had no power, the sight whereof was yet concealed, which was but in his infancie, and before the age of budding. For, if this furie did seize upon a base minded courage, the meanes of it's pursuit, [were] riches, gifts, favour to the advancement of dignities, and such like vile merchandice, which they reprove. If it fell into a most generous minde, the interpositions were likewise generous: Philosophicall instructions, documents to reverence religion, to obey the lawes, to die for the good of his countrie: examples of valor, wisdome and justice.

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The lover endevoring and studying to make himselfe acceptable by the good grace and beauty of his minde (that of his body being long since decayed) hoping by this mentall societie to establish a more firme and permanent bargaine. When this pursuit attained the effect in due season, (for by not requiring in a lover, he should bring leasure and discretion in his enterprise, they require it exactly in the beloved; forasmuch as he was to judge of an internall beauty, of a difficile knowledge, and abstruse discovery) [then] by the interposition of a spiritual beauty was the desire of a spiritual conception engendred in the beloved. The latter was here chiefest; the corporall, accidentall and second, altogether contrarie to the lover. And therefore doe they preferre the beloved, and verifie that the gods likewise preferre the same: and greatly blame the Poet *Æschylus*, who in the love betweene *Achilles* and *Patroclus* ascribeth the lovers part unto *Achilles*, who was in the first and beardlesse youth of his adolescency, and the fairest of the Græcians. After this generall communitie, the mistris and worthiest part of it, predominant and exercising her offices (they say the most availefull commodity did thereby redound both to the private and publike) That it was the force of countries received the use of it, and the principall defence of equitie and libertie: witnesse the comfortable loves of *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton*. Therefore name they it sacred and divine, and it concerns not them whether the violence of

and one upon spiritual

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'I loved him because it was he'

tyrants, or the demisnesse of the people be against them: To conclude, all can be alleaged in favour of the Academy, is to say, that it was a love ending in friendship, a thing which hath no bad reference unto the Stoical definition of love: *Amorem conatum esse amicitiæ faciendæ ex pulchritudinis specie* (Cic. *ibid.*). *That love is an endevour of making friendship, by the shew of beautie.* I returne to my description in a more equitable and equall manner. *Omnino amicitiæ corroboratis jam confirmatisque ingeniis et ætatibus judicandæ sunt* (Cic. *Amic.*). *Clearely friendships are to be judged by wits, and ages already strengthened and confirmed.* As for the rest, those we ordinarily call friendes and amities, are but acquaintances and familiarities, tied together by some occasion or commodities, by meanes whereof our mindes are entertained. In the amitie I speake of, they entermixe and confound themselves one in the other, with so universall a commixture, that they weare out, and can no more finde the seame that hath conjoyned them together. If a man urge me to tell wherefore I loved him, I feele it cannot be expressed, but by answering; Because it was he, because it was my selfe. There is beyond all my discourse, and besides what I can particularly report of it, I know not what inexplicable and fatall power, a meane and Mediatrix of this indissoluble union. Wee sought one another, before we had seene one another, and by the reports we heard one of another; which wrought a greater violence in us, than the reason of

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reports may well beare: I thinke by some secret ordinance of the heavens, we embraced one another by our names. And at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast, and solemne meeting of a whole towneship, we found our selves so surprized, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly bound together, that from thence forward, nothing was so neere unto us, as one unto another. He writ an excellent Latyne Satyre; since published; by which he excuseth and expoundeth the precipitation of our acquaintance, so suddenly come to her perfection; Sithence it must continue so short a time, and begun so late (for we were both growne men, and he some yeares older than my selfe) there was no time to be lost. And it was not to bee modelled or directed by the paterne of regular and remisse friendship, wherein so many precautions of a long and preallable conversation are required. This hath no other *Idea* than of it selfe, and can have no reference but to it selfe. It is not one especiall consideration, nor two, nor three, nor foure, nor a thousand: It is I wot not what kinde of quintessence, of all this commixture, which having seized all my will, induced the same to plunge and lose it selfe in his, which likewise having seized all his will, brought it to lose and plunge it selfe in mine, with a mutuall greedinesse, and with a semblable concurrance. I may truly say, lose, reserving nothing unto us, that might properly be called our owne, nor that was either his, or mine. When *Lelius* in the pre-

Montaigne's first meeting with Boëtie

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Gracchus and Blosius

sence of the Romane Consuls, who after the condemnation of *Tiberius Gracchus*, pursued all those that had beene of his acquaintance, came to enquire of *Caius Blosius* (who was one of his chiefest friends) what he would have done for him, and that he answered, *All things. What? All things?* replied he: *And what if he had willed thee to burne our Temples? Blosius* answered, *He would never have commanded such a thing. But what if he had done it?* replied *Lelius:* The other answered, *I would have obeyed him:* If hee were so perfect a friend to *Gracchus*, as Histories report, he needed not offend the Consuls with this last and bold confession, and should not have departed from the assurance hee had of *Gracchus* his minde. But yet those, who accuse this answer as seditious, understand not well this mysterie: and doe not presuppose in what termes he stood, and that he held *Gracchus* his will in his sleeve, both by power and knowledge. They were rather friends than Citizens, rather friends than enemies of their countrey, or friends of ambition and trouble. Having absolutely committed themselves one to another, they perfectly held the reines of one anothers inclination: and let this yoke be guided by vertue and conduct of reason (because without them it is altogether impossible to combine and proportion the same). The answer of *Blosius* was such as it should be. If their affections miscarried, according to my meaning, they were neither friends one to other, nor friends to themselves. As for the rest, this

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answer sounds no more than mine would doe, to him that would in such sort enquire of me; if your will should command you to kill your daughter, would you doe it? and that I should consent unto it: for, that beareth no witnesse of consent to doe it: because I am not in doubt of my will, and as little of such a friends will. It is not in the power of the worlds discourse to remove me from the certaintie I have of his intentions and judgements of mine: no one of it's actions might be presented unto me, under what shape soever, but I would presently finde the spring and motion of it. Our mindes have jumped so unitedly together, they have with so fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered and sounded, even to the very bottome of each others heart and entrails, that I did not only know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have trusted him concerning any matter of mine, than my selfe. Let no man compare any of the other common friendships to this. I have as much knowledge of them as another, yea of the perfectest of their kinde: yet wil I not perswade any man to confound their rules, for so a man might be deceived. In these other strict friendships a man must march with the bridle of wisdome and precaution in his hand; the bond is not so strictly tied, but a man may in some sort distrust the same. *Love him* (said *Chilon*) *as if you should one day hate him againe. Hate him as if you should love him againe.* This precept, so abhominable in this soveraigne and

Depth of Montaigne's affection for Boëtie

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All things common between perfect friends

mistris Amitie, is necessarie and wholesome in the use of vulgar and customarie friendships: toward which a man must employ the saying *Aristotle* was wont so often to repeat, *Oh you my friends, there is no perfect friend.*

In this noble commerce, offices and benefits (nurses of other amities) deserve not so much as to bee accounted of: this confusion so full of our wills is cause of it: for even as the friendship I beare unto my selfe, admits no accrease, by any succour I give my selfe in any time of need, whatsoever the Stoickes alleage; and as I acknowledge no thanks unto my selfe for any service I doe unto my selfe, so the union of such friends, being truly perfect, makes them lose the feeling of such duties, and hate, and expell from one another these words of division, and difference; benefit, good deed, dutie, obligation, acknowledgement, prayer, thanks, and such their like. All things being by effect common betweene them; wils, thoughts, judgements, goods, wives, children, honour, and life; and their mutuall agreement, being no other than one soule in two bodies, according to the fit definition of *Aristotle*, they can neither lend or give ought to each other. See here the reason why Lawmakers, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine bond, inhibite donations betweene husband and wife; meaning thereby to inferre, that all things should peculiarly bee proper to each of them, and that they have nothing to divide and share together. If in the friendship whereof I speake, one might

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give unto another, the receiver of the benefit should binde his fellow. For, each seeking more than any other thing, to doe each other good, he who yeelds both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth himselfe liberall, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desireth most. When the Philosopher *Diogenes* wanted money, he was wont to say; *That he re-demanded the same of his friends, and not that he demanded it:* And to shew how that is practised by effect, I will relate an ancient singular example. *Eudamidas* the Corinthian had two friends. *Charixenus* a Sycionian, and *Aretheus* a Corinthian; being upon his death-bed, and very poore, and his two friends very rich, thus made his last will and testament. *To* Aretheus, *I bequeath the keeping of my mother, and to maintaine her when she shall be old: To* Charixenus *the marrying of my daughter, and to give her as great a dowry as he may: and in case one of them shall chance to die before, I appoint the surviver to substitute his charge, and supply his place.* Those that first saw this testament, laughed and mocked at the same; but his heires being advertised thereof, were very well pleased, and received it with singular contentment. And *Charixenus* one of them, dying five daies after *Eudamidas*, the substitution being declared in favour of *Aretheus*, he carefully, and very kindly kept and maintained his mother, and of five talents that he was worth, he gave two and a halfe in mariage to one only daughter he had, and the other two and a halfe to the daughter

The last will of Eudamidas

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Perfect friendship for one only

of *Eudamidas*, whom he married both in one day. This example is very ample, if one thing were not, which is the multitude of friends: For, this perfect amity I speake of, is indivisible; each man doth so wholy give himselfe unto his friend, that he hath nothing left him to divide else-where: moreover he is grieved that he is [not] double, triple, or quadruple, and hath not many soules, or sundry wils, that he might conferre them all upon this subject. Common friendships may bee divided; a man may love beauty in one, facility of behaviour in another, liberality in one, and wisdome in another, paternity in this, fraternity in that man, and so forth: but this amitie which possesseth the soule, and swaies it in all soveraigntie, it is impossible it should be double. If two at one instant should require helpe, to which would you run? Should they crave contrary offices of you, what order would you follow? Should one commit a matter to your silence, which if the other knew would greatly profit him, what course would you take? Or how would you discharge your selfe? A singular and principall friendship dissolveth all other duties, and freeth all other obligations. The secret I have sworne not to reveale to another, I may without perjurie impart it unto him, who is no other but my selfe. It is a great and strange wonder for a man to double himselfe; and those that talke of tripling, know not, nor cannot reach unto the height of it. *Nothing is extreme, that hath his like.* And he who shal presuppose, that of two I love the one

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as wel as the other, and that they enter-love one another, and love me as much as I love them: he multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular, and alonely one, and than which one alone is also the rarest to be found in the world. The remainder of this history agreeth very wel with what I said; for, *Eudamidas* giveth as a grace and favor to his friends to employ them in his need: he leaveth them as his heires of his liberality, which consisteth in putting the meanes into their hands, to doe him good. And doubtlesse, the force of friendship is much more richly shewen in his deed, than in *Aretheus*. To conclude, they are [inimaginable] effects, to him that hath not tasted them; and which makes me wonderfully to honor the answer of that young Souldier to *Cyrus*, who enquiring of him, what he would take for a horse, with which he had lately gained the prize of a race, and whether he would change him for a Kingdome? *No surely my Liege* (said he) *yet would I willingly forgoe him to gaine a true friend, could I but finde a man worthy of so precious an alliance.* He said not ill, in saying, *could I but finde.* For, a man shall easily finde men fit for a superficiall acquaintance; but in this, wherein men negotiate from the very centre of their harts, and make no spare of any thing, it is most requisite, all the wards and springs be sincerely wrought, and perfectly true. In confederacies, which hold but by one end, men have nothing to provide for, but for the imperfections, which particularly doe interest and concerne that end and respect. It is

Friends hard to find

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The choice of acquaintances

no great matter what religion my Physician and Lawyer is of: this consideration hath nothing common with the offices of that friendship they owe mee. So doe I in the familiar acquaintances, that those who serve me contract with me. I am nothing inquisitive whether a Lackey be chaste or no, but whether he be diligent: I feare not a gaming Muletier, so much as if he be weake; nor a hot swearing Cooke, as one that is ignorant and unskilfull; I never meddle with saying what a man should doe in the world; there are over many others that doe it; but what my selfe doe in the world.

> *Mihi sic usus est: Tibi, ut opus est facto, face.*
> —Ter. *Heau.* act. i. scen. i. 28.
>
> So is it requisite for me;
> Doe thou as needfull is for thee.

Concerning familiar table-talke, I rather acquaint my selfe with, and follow a merry conceited humour, than a wise man: And in bed I rather prefer beauty, than goodnesse; and in society or conversation of familiar discourse, I respect rather sufficiency, though without *Preud'hommie*, and so of all things else. Even as he that was found riding upon an hobby-horse, playing with his children, besought him, who thus surprized him, not to speake of it, untill he were a father himselfe, supposing the tender fondnesse, and fatherly passion, which then would possesse his minde, should make him an impartiall judge of such an action. So would I wish to speake to such as had tried

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what I speake of: but knowing how far such an amitie is from the common use, and how seld seene and rarely found, I looke not to finde a competent judge. For, even the discourses, which sterne antiquitie hath left us concerning this subject, seeme to me but faint and forcelesse in respect of the feeling I have of it: And in that point the effects exceed the very precepts of Philosophie.

Montaigne's four years of perfect friendship

Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.
—Hor. 1. *Sat.* v. 44.

For me, be I well in my wit,
Nought, as a merry friend, so fit.

Ancient *Menander* accounted him happy, that had but met the shadow of a true friend: verily he had reason to say so, especially if he had tasted of any: for truly, if I compare all the rest of my forepassed life, which although I have by the meere mercy of God, past at rest and ease, and except the losse of so deare a friend, free from all grievous affliction, with an ever-quietnesse of minde, as one that have taken my naturall and originall commodities in good payment, without searching any others: if, as I say, I compare it all unto the foure yeares, I so happily enjoied the sweet company, and deare-deare society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a darke and yrkesome [night]. Since the time I lost him,

quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dii voluistis) habebo.
—Virg. *Aen.* v 49.

Which I shall ever hold a bitter day,
Yet ever honor'd (so my God t' obey)

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A life divided by Boëtie's death

I doe but languish, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present me with, in stead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the griefe of his losse. We were copartners in all things. All things were with us at halfe; me thinkes I have stolne his part from him.

—Nec fas esse ulla me voluptate hîc frui
Decrevi, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps.
—Ter. *Heau.* act. i. scen. i. 97.

I have set downe, no joy enjoy I may,
As long as he my partner is away.

I was so accustomed to be ever two, and so enured to be never single, that me thinks I am but halfe my selfe.

Illam meæ si partem animæ tulit,
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec charus æquè nec superstes,
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Duxit ruinam.—Hor. ii. *Od.* xvii. 5.

Since that part of my soule riper fate reft me,
Why stay I heere the other part he left me?
Nor so deere, nor entire, while heere I rest:
That day hath in one ruine both opprest.

There is no action can betide me, or imagination possesse me, but I heare him saying, as indeed he would have done to me: for even as he did excell me by an infinite distance in all other sufficiencies and vertues, so did he in all offices and duties of friendship.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus,
Tam chari capitis?—i. *Od.* xxiv. 1.

What modesty or measure may I beare,
In want and wish of him that was so deare?

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Montaigne careful of Boëtie's memory

O misero frater adempte mihi!
Omnia tecum unà perierunt gaudia nostra,
Quæ tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor.
Tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda frater,
Tecum unà tota est nostra sepulta anima,
Cujus ego interitu tota de mente fugavi
Hæc studia, atque omnes delicias animi.
Alloquar? audiero nunquam tua verba loquentem?
Nunquam ego te vita frater amabilior,
Aspiciam posthac? at certè semper amabo.
—CATUL. *Ele.* iv. 20, 92, 23, 95, 21, 94, 25; *El.* i. 9.

O brother reft from miserable me,
All our delight's are perished with thee,
Which thy sweet love did nourish in my breath.
Thou all my good hast spoiled in thy death:
With thee my soule is all and whole enshrinde,
At whose death I have cast out of minde
All my mindes sweet-meats, studies of this kinde;
Never shall I, heare thee speake, speake with thee?
Thee brother, than life dearer, never see?
Yet shalt thou ever be belov'd of mee.

but let us a little heare this yong man speake, being but sixteene yeares of age.

Because I have found this worke to have since beene published (and to an ill end) by such as seeke to trouble and subvert the state of our common-wealth, nor caring whether they shall reforme it or no; which they have fondly inserted among other writings of their invention, I have revoked my intent, which was to place it here. And lest the Authors memory should any way be interessed with those that could not thoroughly know his opinions and actions, they

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The character of Boëtie

shall understand, that this subject was by him treated of in his infancie, only by way of exercise, as a subject, common, bare-worne, and wyer-drawne in a thousand bookes. I will never doubt but he beleeved what he writ, and writ as he thought: for hee was so conscientious, that no lie did ever passe his lips, yea were it but in matters of sport or play: and I know, that had it beene in his choyce, he would rather have beene borne at *Venice*, than at *Sarlac*; and good reason why: But he had another maxime deepely imprinted in his minde, which was, carefully to obey, and religiously to submit himselfe to the lawes, under which he was borne. There was never a better Citizen, nor more affected to the welfare and quietnesse of his countrie, nor a sharper enemie of the changes, innovations, newfangles, and hurly-burlies of his time: He would more willingly have imployed the utmost of his endevours to extinguish and suppresse, than to favour or further them: His minde was modelled to the patterne of other best ages. But yet in exchange of his serious treatise, I will here set you downe another, more pithie, materiall, and of more consequence, by him likewise produced in that tender age.

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Chap. XXVIII

Nine and twentie Sonnets of Steven de la Boetie, to the Lady of Grammont, Countesse of Guissen

A Dedication

MADAME, I present you with nothing that is mine, either because it is already yours, or because I finde nothing therein worthy of you. But wheresoever these verses shall be seene, for the honour which thereby shall redound to them, by having this glorious *Corisanda* of *Andoins* for their guide, I thought it good to adorne them with your worthy name. I have deemed this present fit for your Ladiship, forsomuch as there are few Ladies in *France*, that either can better judge of Poesie, or fitter apply the use of it, than your worthy selfe: and since in these her drooping daies, none can give it more life, or vigorous spirit, than you, by those rich and high-tuned accords, wherewith amongst a million of other rare beauties, nature hath richly graced you. Madame, these verses deserve to be cherished by you: and I am perswaded you will be of mine opinion, which is, that none have come out of *Gaskonie*, that either had more wit, or better invention, and that witnesse to have proceeded from a richer veine. And let no jealousie possesse you, inasmuch as you have but the remainder of that, which whilome I caused to be printed under the name of my Lord of *Foix*, your

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The Sonnets of Boëtie

worthy, noble and deare kinsman: For truly, these have a kinde of livelinesse, and more piercing Emphasis than any other, and which I cannot well expresse: as hee that made them in his Aprils youth, and when he was enflamed with a noble glorious flame, as I will one day tell your honour in your eare. The other were afterward made by him in favour of his wife, at what time he wooed and solicited her for marriage, and began to feele I wot not what [maritall]-chilnesse, and husbands-coldnesse. And I am one of those, whose opinion is, that divine Poesie doth no where fadge so well, and so effectually applaudeth, as in a youthfull, wanton, and unbridled subject. The above mentioned nine and twentie Sonnets of *Boetie*, and that in the former impressions of this booke were here set downe, have since beene printed with his other works.

Chap. XXIX

Of Moderation

As if our sense of feeling were infected, wee corrupt by our touching, things that in themselves are faire and good. We may so seize on vertue, that if we embrace it with an over-greedy and violent desire, it may become vitious. Those who say, *There is never excesse in vertue, because it is no longer vertue if any excesse be in it*, doe but jest at words.

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Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quàm satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.
—Hor. l. *Epi.* vi. 15.

Be not too wise

A wise man mad, just unjust, may I name,
More than is meet, ev'n vertue if he claime.

Philosophy is a subtile consideration. A man may love vertue too much, and excessively demeane himselfe in a good action. Gods holy word doth apply it selfe to this byase: *Be not wiser than you should, and be soberly wise.* I have seene some great men, blemish the reputation of their religion, by shewing themselves religious beyond the example of men of their qualitie. I love temperate and indifferent natures. Immoderation towards good, if it offend me not, it amazeth, and troubleth me how I should call it. Neither *Pausanias* his mother, who gave the first instruction, and for her sonnes death brought the first stone: Nor *Posthumius* the Dictator, that brought his owne sonne to his end, whom the heat and forwardnesse of youth, had haply before his ranke, made to charge his enemies, seeme so just as strange unto me. And I neither love to perswade or follow so savage and so deare a vertue. The Archer that overshoots his marke, doth no otherwise than he that shooteth short. Mine eies trouble me as much in climbing up toward a great light, as to goe downe in the darke. *Callicles* in *Plato* saith, *The extremitie of Philosophy to bee hurtfull: and perswades no man to wade further into it, than the bounds of profit: And that taken with moderation, it is pleasant and commodius, but in the end it*

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Marriages of kinsfolk

makes a man wilde and vicious, disdainfull of religion and of common lawes: an enemie of civill conversation: a foe to humane sensualitie, and worldly pleasures: incapable of all politike administration; and unfit to assist others or to helpe himselfe: apt to be without revenge buffeted, and baffled. He saith true: for in her excesse, she enthralleth our naturall libertie, and by an importunate wile, diverts us from the faire and plaine path, which nature traceth out for us. The love we beare to women, is very lawful; yet doth Divinitie bridle and restraine the same. I remember to have read in Saint *Thomas*, in a place where he condemneth marriages of kinsfolkes in forbidden degrees, this one reason amongst others: that the love a man beareth to such a woman may be immoderate; for, if the wedlocke, or husband-like affection be sound and perfect, as it ought to be, and also surcharged with that a man oweth to alliance and kindred, there is no doubt, but that surcrease may easily transport a husband beyond the bounds of reason. Those Sciences that direct the manners of men, as Divinitie and Philosophy, medleth with all things. There is no action so private and secret may be concealed from their knowledge and jurisdiction. Well doe they learne that search and censure their libertie. It is women communicate their parts as much as a man list to wantonize with them: but to phisicke them bashfulnesse forbids them. I will then in their behalfe teach husbands this, if there be any too much flesht upon them:

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which is, that the verie pleasures they have by the familiaritie of their wives, except moderately used; they are reproved: and not only in that, but in any other unlawfull subjects, a man may trespasse in licentiousnesse, and offend in excesse. Those shamelesse endearings, which the first heat suggests unto us in that sportfull delight, are not only undecently, but hurtfully employed towards our wives. Let them at least learne impudencie from another hand. They are ever broad-waking when wee need them. I have used no meanes but naturall and simple instruction. Marriage is a religious and devout bond: and that is the reason the pleasure a man hath of it, should be a moderate, staied and serious pleasure, and mixed with severitie, it ought to bee a voluptuousnesse somewhat circumspect and conscientious. And because it is the chiefest of generation, there are that make a question, whether it be lawfull to require them of copulation, as well when we have no hope of children, as when they are over-aged, or big with childe. *It is an homicide*, according to *Plato*. Certaine nations (and amongst others, the Mahometane) abhorre Conjunction with women great with childe. Many also with those that have their monethly disease. *Zenobia* received her husband but for one charge; which done, all the time of her conception, she let him goe at randon, and that past, she gave him leave to begin againe: a notable and generous example of marriage.

Marriage a religious bond

Plato borroweth the narration (of some needy and hunger-starven Poet) of this sport. That

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All pleasures not proper for all people

Jupiter one day gave his wife so hot a charge, impatient to stay till she came to bed, hee laid her along upon the floore, and by the vehemence of his pleasure forgot the urgent and weighty resolutions lately concluded upon with the other gods of his cælestiall court; boasting he found it as sweet at that time, as he had done, when first he spoiled her of her virginitie, by stealth and unknowne to their parents. The Kings of *Persia*, called for their wives, when they went to any solemne feast, but when much drinking and wine began to heat them in good earnest, they sent them to their chambers, seeing they could no longer refrain, but must needs yeeld to sensualitie, lest they should be partakers of their immoderate lust; and in their stead sent for other women, whom this duty of respect might not concerne. *All pleasures and gratifications are not well placed in all sorts of people. Epaminondas* had caused a dissolute young man to be imprisoned: *Pelopidas* intreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yeelded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, which likewise sued for his enlargement; saying, *it was a gratification due unto a Courtizan, and not to a Captaine. Sophocles* being partner with *Pericles* in the Pretorship, seeing by chance a faire boy to passe by: *Oh what a beauteous boy goeth yonder!* said he to *Pericles: That speech were more fitting another than a Pretor*, answered *Pericles, who ought not only to have chaste hands, but also unpolluted eies. Ælius Verus* the Emperour, his wife complain-

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ing that he followed the love of other women, answered *he did it for conscience sake, for so much as marriage was a name of honour, and dignity, and not of foolish and lascivious lust.* And our Ecclesiasticall Historie, hath with honour preserved the memorie of that wife, which sued to be devorced from her husband, because she would not second and consent to his over-insolent and lewde embracements. To conclude, there is no voluptuousnesse so just, wherein excesse and intemperance is not reprochfull unto us. But to speake in good sooth, is not a man a miserable creature? He is scarce come to his owne strength by his naturall condition, to taste one only compleate, entire and pure pleasure, but he laboreth by discourse to cut it off: he is not wretched enough, except by art and study he augment his miserie.

'Is not man a miserable creature?'

Fortunæ miseras auximus arte vias.
—PROPERT. iii. *El.* vi. 32.

Fortunes unhappie ill,
We amplifie by skill.

Humane wisdome doth foolishly seeke to be ingenious in exercising her selfe to abate the number, and diminish the pleasure of sensualities, that pertaine to us: as it doth favorably and industriously in employing her devises, to paint and set a luster on evils, before our eies, and therewith to recreate our sense. Had I beene chiefe of a faction, I would have followed a more naturall course, which to say true, is both commodious and sacred, and should peradventure

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Punishments should possess a sting

have made my selfe strong enough to limite the same. Although our spirituall and corporall Physitians: as by covenant agreed upon betweene them, finde no way of recoverie, nor remedies for diseases of body and minde, but by torment, griefe and paine, watching, fasting, haire-shirts, farre and solitarie exile, perpetuall prison, roddes and other afflictions, have therefore beene invented: But so, that they be truly afflictions, and that there be some stinging sharpnesse in them: And that the successe be not as *Gallios* was, who having beene confined to the ile of *Lesbos*, newes came to *Rome*, that there he lived a merry life; and what the Senate had laid upon him for a punishment, redounded to his commodity: whereupon they agreed to revoke him home to his owne house and wife, strictly enjoyning him to keepe the same, thereby to accommodate their punishment to his sense and feeling. For he to whom fasting should procure health and a merrie heart, or he to whom poison should be more healthy than meat, it would be no longer a wholesome receipt, no more than drugs in other medicines, are of no effect to him that takes them with appetite and pleasure. Bitternesse and difficultie are circumstances fitting their operation. That nature which should take Reubarbe as familiar, should no doubt corrupt the use of it; it must be a thing that hurts the stomacke, if it shal cure it: and here the common rule failes, that infirmities are cured by their contraries: for one ill cureth another. This impression hath some reference to this other so ancient, where

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some thinke they gratifie both heaven and earth by killing and massacring themselves, which was universally embraced in all religions. Even in our fathers age; *Amurath* at the taking of *Isthmus*, sacrificed six hundred young Græcians to his fathers soule: to the end their bloud might serve as a propitiation to expiate the sinnes of the deceased. And in the new countries discovered in our daies yet uncorrupted, and virgins, in regard of ours, it is a custome well nigh received everie where. All their idolles are sprinkled with humane bloud, not without divers examples of horrible crueltie. Some are burnt alive, and halfe roasted drawne from the fire, that so they may pull out their hearts and entrails; othersome, yea women are fleade quicke, and with their yet-bleeding skins, they invest and cover others. And no lesse of examples of constant resolution. For these wretched sacrifiable people, old men, women and children, some daies before, goe themselves begging their almes, for the offering of their sacrifice, and all of full glee, singing, and dancing with the rest, they present themselves to the slaughter. The Ambassadours of the Kings of *Mexico*, in declaring and magnifying the greatnesse of their Master to *Fernando Cortez*, after they had told him, that he had thirtie vassals, whereof each one was able to levie a hundred thousand combatants, and that he had his residence in the fairest and strongest Citie under heaven, added moreover, that he had fiftie thousand to sacrifice for every yeare: verily some affirme that they maintaine continuall warres

Human sacrifices

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The appeal to Cortez

with certaine mightie neighbouring Nations, not so much for the exercise and training of their youth, as that they may have store of prisoners taken in warre to supply their sacrifices. In another province, to welcome the said *Cortez*, they sacrificed fiftie men at one clap. I will tell this one storie more: Some of those people having beene beaten by him, sent to know him, and to intreat him of friendship. The messengers presented him with three kinds of presents, in this manner: *Lord, if thou be a fierce God, that lovest to feed on flesh and bloud, here are five slaves, eat them, and we will bring thee more: if thou be a gently mild God, here is incense and feathers; but if thou be a man, take these birds and fruits, that here we present and offer unto thee.*

CHAP. XXX

Of the Caniballes

AT what time King *Pirrhus* came into *Italie*, after he had survaid the marshalling of the Armie, which the Romans sent against him: *I wot not*, said he, *what barbarous men these are* (for so were the Græcians wont to call all strange nations) *but the disposition of this Armie, which I see, is nothing barbarous.* So said the Græcians of that which *Flaminius* sent into their countrie: And *Philip* viewing

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from a Tower the order and distribution of the Romane camp, in his kingdome under *Publius Sulpitius Galba*. Loe how a man ought to take heed, lest he over-weeningly follow vulgar opinions, which should be measured by the rule of reason, and not by the common report. I have had long time dwelling with me a man, who for the space of ten or twelve yeares had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where *Villegaignon* first landed, and surnamed *Antartike France*. This discoverie of so infinit and vast a countrie, seemeth worthy great consideration. I wot not whether I can warrant my selfe, that some other be not discovered hereafter, sithence so many worthy men, and better learned than we are, have so many ages beene deceived in this. I feare me our eies be greater than our bellies, and that we have more curiositie than capacitie. We embrace all, but we fasten nothing but wind. *Plato* maketh *Solon* to report (PLAT. *Timæ.*), that he had learn't of the Priests of the citie of *Says* in *Ægypt*, that whilom, and before the generall Deluge, there was a great Iland called *Atlantis*, situated at the mouth of the strait of *Gibraltar*, which contained more firme land than *Affrike* and *Asia* together. And that the Kings of that countrie, who did not only possesse that Iland, but had so farre entred into the maine land, that of the bredth of *Affrike*, they held as farre as *Ægypt*; and of *Europes* length, as farre as *Tuscanie*: and that they undertooke to invade *Asia*, and to subdue

The fabled Atlantis

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The work of the sea

all the nations that compasse the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulfe of *Mare-Maggiore*, and to that end they traversed all *Spaine*, *France*, and *Italie*, so farre as *Greece*, where the Athenians made head against them; but that a while after, both the Athenians themselves, and that great Iland, were swallowed up by the Deluge. It is verie likely this extreme ruine of waters wrought strange alterations in the habitations of the earth: as some hold that the Sea hath divided *Sicilie* from *Italie*,

Hæc loca vi quondam, et vasta convulsa ruina
Dissiluisse ferunt, cùm protinus utraque tellus
Una foret.—VIRG. *Aen.* iii. 414, 416.

Men say, sometimes this land by that forsaken,
And that by this, were split, and ruine-shaken,
Whereas till then both lands as one were taken.

Cypres from *Soria*, the Iland of *Negroponte* from the maine land of *Beotia*, and in other places joyned lands that were sundred by the Sea, filling with mud and sand the chanels betweene them.

—steriliſque diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum.
—HOR. *Art. Poet.* 65.

The fenne long barren, to be row'd in, now
Both feeds the neighbour townes, and feeles the plow.

But there is no great apparence, the said Iland should be the new world we have lately discovered; for, it well-nigh touched *Spaine*, and it were an incredible effect of inundation, to have removed the same more than twelve hundred leagues, as we see it is. Besides, our

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moderne Navigations have now almost discovered, that it is not an Iland, but rather firme land, and a continent, with the East *Indias* on one side, and the countries lying under the two Poles on the other; from which if it be divided, it is with so narrow a strait, and intervall, that it no way deserveth to be named an Iland: For, it seemeth there are certaine motions in these vast bodies, some naturall, and other some febricitant, as well as in ours. When I consider the impression my river of *Dordoigne* worketh in my time, toward the right shoare of her descent and how much it hath gained in twentie yeares, and how many foundations of divers houses it hath overwhelmed and violently caried away; I confesse it to be an extraordinarie agitation: for, should it alwaies keepe one course, or had it ever kept the same, the figure of the world had ere this beene overthrowne: But they are subject to changes and alterations. Sometimes they overflow and spread themselves on one side, sometimes on another; and other times they containe themselves in their naturall beds or chanels. I speak not of sudden inundations, whereof we now treat the causes. In *Medoc* alongst the Sea-coast, my brother the Lord of *Arsacke*, may see a towne of his buried under the sands, which the Sea casteth up before it: The tops of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His Rents and Demaines have beene changed into barren pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affirme, that some yeares since, the Sea encrocheth so much upon them,

and of rivers

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The testimony of Aristotle

that they have lost foure leagues of firme land: These sands are her fore-runners. And we see great hillocks of gravell moving, which march halfe a league before it, and usurpe on the firme land. The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in *Aristotle* (if at least that little booke of unheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the *Atlantike* Sea, without the strait of *Gibraltar*, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland, all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from al land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertility of the soile, went thither with their wives, children, and houshold, and there began to inhabit and settle themselves. The Lords of *Carthage* seeing their countrie by little and little to be dispeopled, made a law and expresse inhibition, that upon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne estate. This narration of *Aristotle* hath no reference unto our new found countries. This servant I had, was a simple and rough-hewen fellow: a condition fit to yeeld a true testimonie. For, subtile people may indeed marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they amplifie and glose them: and the better to perswade, and make

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their interpretations of more validitie, they cannot chuse but somewhat alter the storie. They never represent things truly, but fashion and maske them according to the visage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and draw you on to beleeve them, they commonly adorne, enlarge, yea, and Hyperbolize the matter. Wherein is required either a most sincere Reporter, or a man so simple, that he may have no invention to build upon, and to give a true likelihood unto false devices, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man; who besides his owne report, hath many times shewed me divers Mariners, and Merchants, whom hee had knowne in that voyage. So am I pleased with his information, that I never enquire what Cosmographers say of it. We had need of Topographers to make us particular narrations of the places they have beene in. For some of them, if they have the advantage of us, that they have seene *Palestine*, will challenge a privilege, to tell us newes of all the world besides. I would have everie man write what he knowes, and no more: not only in that, but in all other subjects. For one may have particular knowledge of the nature of one river, and experience of the qualitie of one fountaine, that in other things knowes no more than another man: who neverthelesse to publish this little scantling, will undertake to write of all the Physickes. From which vice proceed divers great inconveniences. Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have beene

Montaigne's American servant

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Nature and Art

informed) there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, unlesse men call that barbarisme which is not common to them. As indeed, we have no other ayme of truth and reason, than the example and *Idea* of the opinions and customes of the countrie we live in. There is ever perfect religion, perfect policie, perfect and compleat use of all things. They are even savage, as we call those fruits wilde, which nature of her selfe, and of her ordinarie progresse hath produced: whereas indeed, they are those which our selves have altered by our artificiall devices, and diverted from their common order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall properties most lively and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if notwithstanding, in divers fruits of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde, that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste; there is no reason, art should gaine the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions surcharged the beauties and riches of her workes, that we have altogether overchoaked her: yet where ever her puritie shineth, she makes our vaine and frivolous enterprises wonderfully ashamed.

Et veniunt hederæ sponte sua melius,
Surgit et in solis formosior arbutus antris,
Et volucres nulla dulcius arte canunt.—PROPERT. i. *El.* ii. 10.

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Ivies spring better of their owne accord,
Unhanted plots much fairer trees afford.
Birds by no art much sweeter notes record.

'Flower in the crannied wall'

All our endevour or wit, cannot so much as reach to represent the nest of the least birdlet, it's contexture, beautie, profit and use, no nor the web of a seely spider. *All things* (saith *Plato*) *are produced, either by nature, by fortune, or by art. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect by the last.* Those nations seeme therefore so barbarous unto me, because they have received very little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature doe yet command them, which are but little bastardized by ours, And that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time there were men, that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie, *Lycurgus* and *Plato* had it not: for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, and all her quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple, as we see it by experience; nor ever beleeve our societie might be maintained with so little art and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer *Plato*, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no

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Compare Shakespeare's 'Tempest,' II. i. 147

intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kinred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie common-wealth from this perfection?

Hos natura modos primùm dedit.

Nature at first uprise,
These manners did devise.

Furthermore, they live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is verie rare to see a sicke body amongst them; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there, either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eies dropping, or crooked and stooping through age. They are seated alongst the sea-coast, encompassed toward the land with huge and steepie mountaines, having betweene both, a hundred leagues or thereabout of open and champaine ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eat them without any sawces, or skill of Cookerie, but plaine boiled or broiled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in

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many other voyages conversed with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that before they could take notice of him, they slew him with arrowes. Their buildings are very long, and able to containe two or three hundred soules, covered with barkes of great trees, fastned in the ground at one end, enterlaced and joyned close together by the tops, after the manner of some of our Granges; the covering whereof hangs downe to the ground, and steadeth them as a flancke. They have a kinde of wood so hard, that ryving and cleaving the same, they make blades, swords, and grid-irons to broile their meat with. Their beds are of a kinde of cotten cloth, fastned to the house-roofe, as our ship-cabbanes: everie one hath his severall cowch; for the women lie from their husbands. They rise with the Sunne, and feed for all day, as soone as they are up: and make no more meales after that. They drinke not at meat, as *Susdas* reporteth of some other people of the East, which dranke after meales, but drinke many times a day, and are much given to pledge carowses. Their drinke is made of a certaine root, and of the colour of our Claret wines, which lasteth but two or three daies; they drinke it warme: It hath somewhat a sharpe taste, wholsome for the stomack, nothing heady, but laxative for such as are not used unto it, yet verie pleasing to such as are accustomed unto it. In stead of bread, they use a certaine white composition, like unto Corianders confected. I have eaten some, the

The land of the 'Cannibals'

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Valour against enemies, love unto wives

taste wherof is somewhat sweet and wallowish. They spend the whole day in dancing. Their young men goe a hunting after wilde beasts with bowes and arrowes. Their women busie themselves therewhil'st with warming of their drinke, which is their chiefest office. Some of their old men, in the morning before they goe to eating, preach in common to all the houshold, walking from one end of the house to the other, repeating one selfe-same sentence many times, till he have ended his turne (for their buildings are a hundred paces in length) he commends but two things unto his auditorie, *First, valour against their enemies, then lovingnesse unto their wives.* They never misse (for their restraint) to put men in minde of this dutie, that it is their wives which keepe their drinke luke-warme and well-seasoned. The forme of their beds, cords, swords, blades, and woodden bracelets, wherewith they cover their hand wrists, when they fight, and great Canes open at one end, by the sound of which they keepe time and cadence in their dancing, are in many places to be seene, and namely in mine owne house. They are shaven all over, much more close and cleaner than wee are, with no other Razors than of wood or stone. They beleeve their soules to be eternall, and those that have deserved well of their Gods, to be placed in that part of heaven where the Sunne riseth, and the cursed toward the West in opposition. They have certaine Prophets and Priests, which commonly abide in the mountaines, and very

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seldome shew themselves unto the people; but when they come downe, there is a great feast prepared, and a solemne assembly of manie townеships together (each Grange as I have described maketh a village, and they are about a French league one from another). The Prophet speakes to the people in publike, exhorting them to embrace vertue, and follow their dutie. All their morall discipline containeth but these two articles; first an undismaied resolution to warre, then an inviolable affection to their wives. Hee doth also Prognosticate of things to come, and what successe they shall hope for in their enterprises: hee either perswadeth or disswadeth them from warre; but if he chance to misse of his divination, and that it succeed otherwise than hee foretold them, if hee be taken, he is hewen in a thousand peeces, and condemned for a false Prophet. And therefore he that hath once misreckoned himselfe is never seene againe. Divination is the gift of God; the abusing whereof should be a punishable imposture. When the Divines amongst the Scythians had foretold an untruth, they were couched along upon hurdles full of heath or brushwood, drawne by oxen, and so manicled hand and foot, burned to death. Those which manage matters subject to the conduct of mans sufficiencie, are excusable, although they shew the utmost of their skill. But those that gull and conicatch us with the assurance of an extraordinarie facultie, and which is beyond our

Divination the gift of God

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Cannibalism as a revenge

knowledge, ought to be double punished; first because they performe not the effect of their promise, then for the rashnesse of their imposture and unadvisednesse of their fraud. They warre against the nations, that lie beyond their mountaines, to which they go naked, having no other weapons than bowes, or woodden swords, sharpe at one end, as our broaches are. It is an admirable thing to see the constant resolution of their combats, which never end but by effusion of bloud and murther: for they know not what feare or rowts are. Every Victor brings home the head of the enemie he hath slaine as a Trophey of his victorie, and fastneth the same at the entrance of his dwelling place. After they have long time used and entreated their prisoners well, and with all commodities they can devise, he that is the Master of them; sommoning a great assembly of his acquaintance; tieth a corde to one of the prisoners armes, by the end whereof he holds him fast, with some distance from him, for feare he might offend him, and giveth the other arme, bound in like manner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in the presence of all the assembly kill him with swords: which done, they roast, and then eat him in common, and send some slices of him to such of their friends as are absent. It is not as some imagine, to nourish themselves with it, (as anciently the Scithians wont to doe,) but to represent an extreme, and inexpiable revenge. Which we prove thus; some of them perceiving the Portugales, who had confederated them-

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selves with their adversaries, to use another kinde of death, when they tooke them prisoners; which was, to burie them up to the middle, and against the upper part of the body to shoot arrowes, and then being almost dead, to hang them up; they supposed, that these people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kindes of evils and mischiefe than they) undertooke not this manner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull, and cruell than theirs, and thereupon began to leave their old fashion to follow this. I am not sorie we note the barbarous horror of such an action, but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults we are so blinded in ours. I thinke there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, than to feed upon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in peeces, to make dogges and swine to gnaw and teare him in mammockes (as wee have not only read, but seene very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens; and which is worse, under pretence of pietie and religion) than to roast and eat him after he is dead. *Chrysippus* and *Zeno*, archpillers of the Stoicke sect, have supposed that it was no hurt at all, in time of need, and to what end soever, to make use of our carrion bodies, and to feed upon them, as did our forefathers, who being besieged by *Cæsar* in the Citie of

Torture of heretics condemned

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The 'noble savage'

Alexia, resolved to sustaine the famine of the siege, with the bodies of old men, women, and other persons unserviceable and unfit to fight.

> *Vascones (fama est) alimentis talibus usi*
> *Produxere animas.*—JUVE. *Sat.* XV. 93.
>
> *Gascoynes* (as fame reports)
> Liv'd with meats of such sorts.

And Physitians feare not, in all kindes of compositions availefull to our health, to make use of it, be it for outward or inward applications: But there was never any opinion found so unnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treacherie, disloyaltie, tyrannie, crueltie, and such like, which are our ordinarie faults. We may then well call them barbarous, in regard of reasons rules, but not in respect of us that exceed them in all kinde of barbarisme. Their warres are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmitie may admit: they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the meere jelousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new lands; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall ubertie and fruitfulnesse, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they need not enlarge their limits. They are yet in that happy estate, as they desire no more, than what their naturall necessities direct them: whatsoever is beyond it, is to them superfluous. Those that are much about one age, doe generally enter-

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call one another brethren, and such as are younger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division to their heires, without other claime or title, but that which nature doth plainely impart unto all creatures, even as shee brings them into the world. If their neighbours chance to come over the mountaines to assaile or invade them, and that they get the victorie over them, the Victors conquest is glorie, and the advantage to be and remaine superior in valour and vertue: else have they nothing to doe with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished, and so returne into their countrie, where they neither want any necessarie thing, nor lacke this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affoordeth them. So doe these when their turne commeth. They require no other ransome of their prisoners, but an acknowledgement and confession that they are vanquished. And in a whole age, a man shall not finde one, that doth not rather embrace death, than either by word or countenance remissely to yeeld one jot of an invincible courage. There is none seene that would not rather be slaine and devoured, than sue for life, or shew any feare: They use their prisoners with all libertie, that they may so much the more hold their lives deare and precious, and commonly entertaine them with threats of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with the preparations

Strife for glory

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True victory is that over constancy

intended for that purpose, with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the feast that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done, to wrest some remisse, and exact some faint-yeelding speech of submission from them, or to possesse them with a desire to escape or run away; that so they may have the advantage to have danted and made them afraid, and to have forced their constancie. For certainly true victorie consisteth in that only point.

> —*Victoria nulla est*
> *Quàm quæ confessos animo quoque subjugat hostes.*
> —CLAUD. vi. *Cons. Hon. Pan.* 245.
>
> No conquest such, as to suppresse
> Foes hearts, the conquest to confesse.

The Hungarians, a most warre-like nation, were whilome wont to pursue their prey no longer than they had forced their enemie to yeeld unto their mercie. For, having wrested this confession from him, they set him at libertie without offence or ransome, except it were to make him sweare, never after to beare armes against them. Wee get many advantages of our enemies, that are but borrowed and not ours: It is the qualitie of porterly-rascall, and not of vertue, to have stronger armes, and sturdier legs: Disposition is a dead and corporall qualitie. It is a tricke of fortune to make our enemie stoope, and to bleare his eies with the Sunnes-light: It is a pranke of skill and knowledge to be cunning in the art of fencing, and which may happen unto a base and worthlesse man. The reputa-

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tion and worth of a man consisteth in his heart and will: therein consists true honour: Constancie is valour, not of armes and legs, but of minde and courage: it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, nor of our armes, but in ours. He that obstinately faileth in his courage, *Si succiderit, de genu pugnat, If hee slip or fall, he fights upon his knee.* He that in danger of imminent death, is no whit danted in his assurednesse; he that in yeelding up his ghost beholding his enemie with a scornefull and fierce looke, he is vanquished, not by us, but by fortune: he is slaine, but not conquered. The most valiant, are often the most unfortunate. So are there triumphant losses in envie of victories. Not those foure sister victories, the fairest that ever the Sunne beheld with his all-seeing eie, of *Salamis*, of *Platea*, of *Micale*, and of *Sicilia*, durst ever dare to oppose all their glorie together, to the glorie of the King *Leonidas* his discomfiture and of his men, at the passage of *Thermopylæ:* what man did ever run with so glorious an envie, or more ambitious desire to the goale of a combat, than Captaine *Ischolas* to an evident losse and overthrow? who so ingeniously or more politikely did ever assure himselfe of his welfare, than he of his ruine? He was appointed to defend a certaine passage of *Peloponesus* against the *Arcadians*, which finding himselfe altogether unable to performe, seeing the nature of the place, and inequalitie of the forces, and resolving, that whatsoever should present it selfe unto his enemie, must necessarily

The glory of Thermopylæ

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Constancy of 'cannibal' prisoners

be utterly defeated: On the other side, deeming it unworthy both his vertue and magnanimitie, and the Lacedemonian name, to faile or faint in his charge, betweene these two extremities he resolved upon a meane and indifferent course, which was this. The youngest and best disposed of his troupe, he reserved for the service and defence of their countrie, to which hee sent them backe; and with those whose losse was least, and who might best be spared, hee determined to maintaine that passage, and by their death to force the enemie, to purchase the entrance of it as deare as possibly he could; as indeed it followed. For being suddenly environed round by the Arcadians: After a great slaughter made of them, both himselfe and all his were put to the sword. Is any Trophey assigned for conquerours, that is not more duly due unto these conquered? A true conquest respecteth rather an undanted resolution, and honourable end, than a faire escape, and the honour of vertue doth more consist in combating than in beating. But to returne to our historie, these prisoners, howsoever they are dealt withall, are so farre from yeelding, that contrariwise during two or three moneths that they are kept, they ever carry a cheerefull countenance, and urge their keepers to hasten their triall, they outragiously defie, and injure them. They upbraid them with their cowardlinesse, and with the number of battels, they have lost againe theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this clause, Let them boldly come

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altogether, and flocke in multitudes, to feed on him; for with him they shall feed upon their fathers, and grandfathers, that heretofore have served his body for food and nourishment: These muscles, (saith he) this flesh, and these veines, are your owne; fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers limbes is yet tied unto ours? Taste them well, for in them shall you finde the relish of your owne flesh: An invention, that hath no shew of barbarisme. Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action, when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioners faces, and making mowes at them. Verily, so long as breath is in their body, they never cease to brave and defie them, both in speech and countenance. Surely, in respect of us these are very savage men: for either they must be so in good sooth, or we must be so indeed: There is a wondrous distance betweene their forme and ours. Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant, so much the greater is their number. The manner and beautie in their marriages is wondrous strange and remarkable: For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe us from the love and affection of other women, the same have theirs to procure it. Being more carefull for their husbands honour and content, than of any thing else: They endevour and apply all their industrie, to have as many rivals as possibly, they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women

especially before death

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A 'barbarian' love-poem

would count it a wonder, but it is not so: It is vertue properly Matrimoniall; but of the highest kinde. And in the Bible, *Lea*, *Rachell*, *Sara*, and *Jacobs* wives, brought their fairest maiden servants unto their husbands beds. And *Livia* seconded the lustfull appetites of *Augustus* to her great prejudice. And *Stratonica* the wife of King *Dejotarus* did not only bring a most beauteous chamber-maide, that served her, to her husbands bed, but very carefully brought up the children he begot on her, and by all possible meanes aided and furthered them to succeed in their fathers roialtie. And least a man should thinke, that all this is done by a simple, and servile, or awefull dutie unto their custome, and by the impression of their ancient customes authoritie, without discourse or judgement, and because they are so blockish, and dull spirited, that they can take no other resolution, it is not amisse, wee alleage some evidence of their sufficiencie. Besides what I have said of one of their warlike songs, I have another amorous canzonet, which beginneth in this sence: *Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy partie-coloured coat drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to give unto my love; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before all other serpents.* The first couplet is the burthen of the song. I am so conversant with Poesie, that I may judge, this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike. Their language is a kinde of pleasant speech, and hath

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a pleasing sound, and some affinitie with the Greeke terminations. Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, which I imagine is already well advanced, (miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cosoned by a desire of new-fangled novelties, and to have quit the calmenesse of their climate, to come and see ours) were at *Roane* in the time of our late King *Charles* the ninth, who talked with them a great while. They were shewed our fashions, our pompe, and the forme of a faire Citie; afterward some demanded their advise, and would needs know of them what things of note and admirable they had observed amongst us: they answered three things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am very sorie for it, the other two I yet remember. They said, *First, they found it very strange, that so many tall men with long beards, strong and well armed, as it were about the Kings person (it is very likely they meant the Switzers of his guard) would submit themselves to obey a beardlesse childe, and that we did not rather chuse one amongst them to command the rest.* Secondly (they have a manner of phrase whereby they call men but a moytie one of another.) *They had perceived, there were men amongst us full gorged with all sortes of commodities, and others which hunger-starved, and bare with need and povertie, begged at their gates: and found it strange, these moyties so needy could endure*

The impressions of the foreigners

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They wear no breeches nor hosen

such an injustice, and that they tooke not the others by the throte, or set fire on their houses. I talked a good while with one of them, but I had so bad an interpreter, and who did so ill apprehend my meaning, and who through his foolishnesse was so troubled to conceive my imaginations, that I could draw no great matter from him. Touching that point, wherein I demanded of him, what good he received by the superioritie he had amongst his countriemen (for he was a Captaine and our Marriners called him King) he told me, it was to march formost in any charge of warre: further, I asked him, how many men did follow him, hee shewed me a distance of place, to signifie they were as many as might be contained in so much ground, which I guessed to be about 4. or 5. thousand men: moreover I demanded, if when warres were ended, all his authoritie expired; he answered, that hee had only this left him, which was, that when he went on progresse, and visited the villages depending of him, the inhabitants prepared paths and high-waies athwart the hedges of their woods, for him to passe through at ease. All that is not verie ill; but what of that? They weare no kinde of breeches nor hosen.

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CHAP. XXXI

That a man ought soberly to meddle with judging of divine lawes

THINGS unknowne are the true scope of imposture, and subject of Legerdemaine: forasmuch as strangenesse it selfe doth first give credit unto matters, and not being subject to our ordinarie discourses, they deprive us of meanes to withstand them. To this purpose, said *Plato*, *it is an easie matter to please, speaking of the nature of the Gods, than of mens:* For the Auditors ignorance lends a faire and large cariere, and free libertie, to the handling of secret hidden matters. Whence it followeth, that nothing is so firmly beleeved, as that which a man knoweth least; nor are there people more assured in their reports, than such as tell us fables, as Alchumists, Prognosticators, Fortune-tellers, Palmesters, Physitians, *id genus omne, and such like.* To which, if I durst, I would joyne a rable of men, that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of Gods secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works. And howbeit, the continuall varietie and discordance of events drive them from one corner to another, and from East to West, they will not leave to follow their bowle, and with one small pensill drawe both

Firmest belief where least knowledge

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'All things come from God'

white and blacke. There is this commendable observance in a certaine Indian nation, who if they chance to be discomfited in any skirmish or battle, they publikely beg pardon of the Sunne, who is their God, as for an unjust action, referring their good or ill fortune to divine reason, submitting their judgement and discourses unto it. It suffiseth a Christian to beleeve, that all things come from God, to receive them from his divine and inscrutable wisdome with thanksgiving, and in what manner soever they are sent him, to take them in good part. But I utterly disalow a common custome amongst us, which is to ground and establish our religion upon the prosperitie of our enterprises. Our beleefe hath other sufficient foundations, and need not be authorized by events. For the people accustomed to these plausible arguments, and agreeing with his taste, when events sort contrarie and disadvantageous to their expectation, they are in hazard to waver in their faith: As in the civil warres, wherin we are now for religions sake, those which got the advantage, at the conflict of *Rochelabeille*, making great joy and bone-fires for that accident, and using that fortune, as an assured approbation of their faction: when afterward they come to excuse their disaster of *Montcontour* and *Jarnac*, which are scourges and fatherly chastisements: if they have not a people wholy at their mercy, they will easily make him perceive, what it is to take two kinds of corne out of one sacke: and from one and the same mouth to blow both hot and cold. It were better to

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entertaine it with the true foundations of veritie. It was a notable Sea-battle, which was lately gained against the Turkes, under the conduct of *Don John* of *Austria*. But it hath pleased God to make us at other times both see and feele other such, to our no small losse and detriment. To conclude, it is no easie matter to reduce divine things unto our ballance, so they suffer no impeachment: And he that would yeeld a reason, why *Arrius* and *Leo* his Pope, chiefe Principals, and maine supporters of this heresie, died both at severall times, of so semblable and so strange deaths (for being forced through a violent bellyach to goe from their disputations to their close-stoole, both suddenly yeelded up their ghosts on them) and exaggerate that divine vengeance by the circumstance of the place, might also adde the death of *Heliogabalus* unto it, who likewise was slaine upon a privie. But what? *Irenæus* is found to be engaged in like fortune: Gods intent being to teach us, that the good have some thing else to hope for, and the wicked somewhat else to feare, than the good or bad fortune of this world: He manageth and applieth them according to his secret disposition: and depriveth us of the meanes, thereby foolishly to make our profit. And those, that according to humane reason will thereby prevaile, doe but mocke themselves. They never give one touch of it, that they receive not two for it. S. *Augustine* giveth a notable triall of it upon his adversaries. It is a conflict, no more decided by the armes of memorie, than by the weapons of reason. A

Success or failure no proof of right or wrong

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Who can know God's counsel?

man should be satisfied with the light, which it pleaseth the Sunne to communicate unto us by vertue of his beames; and he that shall lift up his eies to take a greater within his body, let him not thinke it strange, if for a reward of his over-weening and arrogancie he loseth his sight. *Quis hominum potest scire consilium Dei? aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit dominus?* (Wisd. ix. 13). *Who amongst men can know Gods counsell, or who can thinke what God will doe?*

Chap. XXXII

To avoid voluptuousnesse in regard of life

I HAVE noted the greatest part of ancient opinions to agree in this: That *when our life affords more evill than good, it is then time to die: and to preserve our life to our torment and incommoditie, is to spurre and shocke the very rules of nature:* as say the old rules.

ἢ ζῆν ἀλύπως ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως.—*Gnom. Græc.* θ.

Or live without distresse,
Or die with happinesse.

Καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν οἷς ὕβρις τὸ ζῆν φέρει.
—*Ib.*

T'is good for them to die,
Whom life brings infamie.

Κρεῖσσον τὸ μὴ ζῆν ἐστὶν, ἢ ζῆν ἀθλίως.
—Soph. Stob. *Ser.* 118.

T'is better not to live,
Than wretchedly not thrive.

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But to drive off the contempt of death to such a degree, as to imploy it to distract, and remove himselfe from honours, riches, greatnesse, and other goods and favours, which wee call the goods of fortune: as if reason had not enough to doe, to perswade us to forgoe and leave them, without adding this new surcharge unto it, I had neither seene the same commanded nor practised untill such time as one place of *Seneca* came to my hands, wherein counselling *Lucilius* (a man mightie and in great authoritie about the Emperour) to change this voluptuous and pompous life, and to withdraw himselfe from this ambition of the world, to some solitarie, quiet and philosophicall life: about which *Lucilius* alleaged some difficulties: *My advice is* (saith he) *that either thou leave and quit that life, or thy life altogether: But I perswade thee to follow the gentler way, and rather to untie than breake what thou hast so ill knit: alwaies provided thou breake it, if thou canst not otherwise untie the same.* There is no man so base minded, that loveth not rather to fall once, than ever to remaine in feare of falling. I should have deemed this counsell agreeing with the Stoickes rudenes: But it is more strange it should be borrowed of *Epicurus*, who to that purpose writeth this consonant unto *Idomeneus*. Yet thinke I to have noted some such like thing amongst our owne people, but with Christian moderation. Saint *Hilarie* Bishop of *Poitiers*, a famous enemie of the *Arrian* heresie, being in *Syria*, was advertised that

The advice of Seneca

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The prayer of Saint Hilary

Abra his only daughter whom hee had left at home with her mother, was by the greatest Lords of the countrie solicited and sued unto for marriage, as a damosell very well brought up, faire, rich, and in the prime of her age: he writ unto her (as we see) that she should remove her affections, from all the pleasures and advantages might be presented her: for, in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match or husband of far higher power and magnificence, who should present and endow her with roabes and jewels of unvaluable price. His purpose was to make her lose the appetite and use of worldly pleasures, and wholly to wed her unto God. To which, deeming his daughters death, the shortest and most assured way, he never ceased by vowes, prayers, and orisons, humbly to beseech God to take her out of this world, and to call her to his mercie, as it came to passe; for shee deceased soone after his returne: whereof he shewed manifest tokens of singular gladnesse. This man seemeth to endeere himselfe above others, in that at first sight he addresseth himselfe to this meane, which they never embrace but subsidiarily, and sithence it is towards his only daughter. But I will [not] omit the successe of this storie, although it be not to my purpose. Saint *Hilaries* wife, having understood by him, how her daughters death succeeded with his intent and will, and how much more happy it was for her to be dislodged from out this world, than still to abide therein, conceived

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so lively an apprehension of the eternall and heavenly blessednesse, that with importunate instancie she solicited her husband, to doe as much for her. And God, at their earnest entreatie, and joynt-common prayers, having soone after taken her unto himselfe: it was a death embraced with singular and mutuall contentment to both.

The poison of Cæsar Borgia

Chap. XXXIII

That fortune is oftentimes met withall in pursuit of reason

THE inconstancie of Fortunes diverse wavering, is the cause shee should present us with all sorts of visages. Is there any action of justice more manifest than this? *Cæsar Borgia* Duke of *Valentinois*, having resolved to poison *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornetto*, with whom Pope *Alexander* the sixth, his father and he were to sup that night in *Vaticane*, sent certaine bottles of empoysoned wine before, and gave his Butler great charge to have a speciall care of it. The Pope comming thither before his sonne, and calling for some drinke; the butler supposing the Wine had beene so carefully commended unto him for the goodnesse of it, immediately presented some unto the Pope, who whilest he was drinking, his sonne came in and never imagining his bottles had

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The sport of Fortune

beene toucht, tooke the cup and pledged his father, so that the Pope died presently; and the sonne, after he had long time beene tormented with sicknesse, recovered to another worse fortune. It somtimes seemeth, that when we least think on her, shee is pleased to sport with us. The Lord of *Estree*, then guidon to the Lord of *Vandosme*, and the Lord of *Liques*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Ascot*, both servants to the Lord of *Foungueselles* sister, albeit of contrarie factions (as it hapneth among neighbouring bordurers) the Lord of *Liques* got her to wife: But even upon his wedding day, and which is worse, before his going to bed, the bridegroome desiring to breake a staffe in favour of his new Bride and Mistris, went out to skirmish neere to Saint *Omer*, where the Lord of *Estree* being the stronger tooke him prisoner, and to endeare his advantage, the Lady her selfe was faine,

Conjugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum,
Quàm veniens una atque altera rursus hyems
Noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem,
—CATUL. *Ele.* iv. 81.

Her new feeres necke for'st was she to forgoe,
Ere winters one and two returning sloe,
In long nights had ful-fil'd
Her love so eager wil'd,

in courtesie, to sue unto him for the deliverie of his prisoner, which he granted; the French Nobilitie never refusing Ladies any kindnesse. Seemeth she not to be a right artist? *Constantine* the sonne of *Helen* founded the Empire

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of *Constantinople*, and so, many ages after, *Constantine* the sonne of *Helen* ended the same. She is sometimes pleased to envie our miracles: we hold an opinion, that King *Clovis* besieging *Angoulesme*, the wals by a divine favour fell of themselves. And *Bouchet* borroweth of some author, that King *Robert* beleagring a Citie, and having secretly stolne away from the siege to *Orleans*, there to solemnize the feasts of Saint *Aignan*, as he was in his earnest devotion, upon a certaine passage of the Masse, the walles of the towne besieged, without any batterie, fell flat to the ground. She did altogether contrarie in our warres of *Millane:* For, Captaine *Rense*, beleagring the Citie of *Eronna* for us, and having caused a forcible mine to be wrought under a great curtine of the walles, by force whereof, it being violently flowne up from out the ground, did notwithstanding, whole and unbroken, fall so right into his foundation againe, that the besieged found no inconvenience at all by it. She sometimes playeth the Physitian. *Jason Phereus* being utterly forsaken of all Physitians, by reason of an impostume he had in his breast, and desirous to be rid of it, though it were by death, as one of the forlorne hope, rusht into a battel amongst the thickest throng of his enemies, where he was so rightly wounded acrosse the body, that his impostume brake, and he was cured. Did shee not exceed the Painter *Protogenes* in the skill of his trade? who having perfected the image of a wearie and panting dog, and in

Fortune as a physician

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Fortune and Art

all parts over-tired, to his content, but being unable, as he desired, lively to represent the drivel or slaver of his mouth, vexed against his owne worke, took his spunge, and moist as it was with divers colours, threw it at the picture, with purpose to blot and deface all hee had done: fortune did so fitly and rightly carrie the same toward the dogs chaps, that there it perfectly finished, what his art could never attaine unto. Doth she not sometimes addresse and correct our counsels? *Isabell* Queene of *England*, being to repasse from *Zeland* into her Kingdome with an armie, in favour of her sonne against her husband, had utterly beene cast away, had she come unto the Port intended, being there expected by her enemies: But fortune against her will, brought her to another place, where shee safely landed. And that ancient fellow, who hurling a stone at a dog, misst him, and therewithall hit and slew his stepdame, had [he] not reason to pronounce this verse,

> Ταυτόματον ἡμῶν καλλίω βουλεύεται.
> Chance of it selfe, than wee,
> Doth better say and see?

Fortune hath better advice than wee. *Icetes* had practised and suborned two souldiers to kill *Timoleon*, then residing at *Adrane* in *Sicily*. They appointed a time to doe, as he should be assisting at some sacrifice; and scattering themselves amongst the multitude, as they were winking one upon another, to shew how they had a

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verie fit opportunitie to doe the deed: Loe here a third man, that with a huge blow of a sword, striketh one of them over the head, and fels him dead to the ground and so runs away. His fellow supposing himselfe discovered and undone, runs to the altar, suing for sanctuarie, with promise to confesse the truth; Even as he was declaring the conspiracie, behold the third man, who had likewise beene taken, whom as a murtherer the people tugged and haled through the throng toward *Timoleon* and the chiefest of the assembly, where he humbly calleth for mercy, alleaging that he had justly murthered the murtherer of his father, whom his good chance was to finde there, averring by good witnesses, before them all, that in the Citie of the Leontines, his father had beene proditoriously slaine by him, on whom he had now revenged himselfe. In meede whereof, because he had beene so fortunate (in seeking to right his fathers untimely death) to save the common father of the Sicilians from so imminent a danger, he had ten Attike mines awarded him. This fortune in her directions exceedeth all the rules of humane wisdome. But to conclude, is not an expresse application of her favour, goodnesse, and singular pietie manifestly discovered in this action? *Ignatius* the Father and the Sonne, both banished by proscription by the Triumvirs of *Rome*, resolved on this generous act, to yeeld their lives one into anothers hands, and thereby frustrate the Tyrants cruelty. They furiously with their

Fortune surpasses human wisdom

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A general agency keene rapiers drawne, ran one against another: Fortune so directed their points, that each received his mortall stroke; adding to the honour of seld-seene an amity, that they had just so much strength left them, to draw their armed and bloudy hands from out their goared wounds, in that plight, so fast to embrace, and so hard to claspe one another, that the hangmen were forced, at one stroke, and together, to cut off both their heads; leaving their bodies for ever tied in so honourable a knot, and their wounds so joyned, that they lovingly drew and suckt each others bloud, breath, and life.

Chap. XXXIV

Of a defect in our policies

MY whilome-father, a man who had no helpe but from experience, and his owne nature, yet of an unspotted judgement, hath heretofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this custome, which is, that in all cities there should be a certaine appointed place, to which, whosoever should have need of any thing, might come and cause his businesse to be registred by some officer appointed for that purpose: As for example, if one have pearles to sell, he should say, I seeke to sell some pearls: and another, I seeke to buy some pearls: Such a man would faine have companie to travell to

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Paris; Such a one enquireth for a servant of this or that qualitie; Such a one seeketh for a Master; another a workman; Some this; some that; every man as he needed. And it seemeth that this meanes of enter-warning one another would bring no small commoditie unto common commerce and societie; For there are ever conditions that enter-seeke one another, and because they understand not one another, they leave men in great necessitie. I understand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that even in our sight, two most excellent men in knowledge, have miserably perished for want of food and other necessaries: *Lilius Gregorius Giraldus* in *Italy*, and *Sebastianus Castalio* in *Germanie:* And I verily beleeve there are many thousands, who had they knowne or understood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends entertained them, or would have convaid them succour, where ever they had beene. The world is not so generally corrupted, but I know some, that would earnestly wish, and with harty affections desire, the goods which their forefathers have left them, might, so long as it shall please fortune they may enjoy them, be emploied for the reliefe of rare, and supply of excellent mens necessitie, and such as for any kind of worth and vertue are remarkable; many of which are daily seene to be pursued by ill fortune even to the utmost extremitie, and that would take such order for them, as had they not their ease and content, it might only be

Death by hunger a reproach to the living

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Private day-books

imputed to their want of reason or lacke of discretion. In this Oeconomicke or houshold order my father had this order, which I can commend, but no way follow: which was, that besides the day-booke of houshold affaires, wherein are registred at least expences, paiments, gifts, bargains and sales, that require not a Notaries hand to them, which booke a receiver had the keeping of: he appointed another journall-booke to one of his servants, who was his clerke, wherein he should insert and orderly set downe all accidents worthy the noting, and day by day register the memories of the historie of his house: A thing very pleasant to read, when time began to weare out the remembrance of them, and fit for us to passe the time withall, and to resolve some doubts: when such a worke was begun, when ended, what way or course was taken, what accidents hapned, how long it continued; all our voyages, where, and how long we were from home; our marriages, who died, and when; the receiving of good or bad tidings, who came, who went, changing or removing of houshold officers, taking of new, or discharging of old servants, and such like matters. An ancient custome, and which I would have all men use and bring into fashion againe in their severall homes: and I repent my selfe, I have so foolishly neglected the same.

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CHAP. XXXV

Of the use of Apparell

WHATSOEVER I ayme at, I must needs force some of customes contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was devising in this chil-cold season, whether the fashion of these late discovered Nations to go naked, be a custome forced by the hot temperature of the ayre, as we say of the Indians and Moores, or whether it be an originall manner of mankind. Men of understanding, forasmuch as whatsoever is contained under heaven (as saith the holy Writ) is subject to the same lawes, are wont in such like considerations, where naturall lawes are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the generall policie of the world, where nothing that is counterfet can be admitted. Now all things being exactly furnished elsewhence with all necessaries to maintaine this being, it is not to be imagined that we alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one, as cannot be maintained without forrain helpe. My opinion is, that even as all plants, trees, living creatures, and whatsoever hath life, is naturally seene furnished with sufficient furniture to defend it selfe from the injurie of all wethers: **Nakedness of barbarians**

Propterèaque ferè res omnes, aut corio sunt,
Aut setâ, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice tectæ.
—LUCR. iv. 932.

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Clothes a matter of custom

Therefore all things almost we cover'd marke,
With hide, or haire, or shels, or brawne, or barke.

Even so were we: But as those who by an artificiall light extinguish the brightnesse of the day, we have quenched our proper meanes, by such as wee have borrowed. And wee may easily discerne, that only custome makes that seeme impossible unto us, which is not so: For of those nations that have no knowledge of cloaths, some are found situated under the same heaven, and climate, or paralell, that we are in, and more cold and sharper than ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of us are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and eares; and our countrie-swaines (as our forefathers wont) most of them at this day goe bare-breasted downe to the navill. Had we beene borne needing petti-coats and breeches, there is no doubt, but nature would have armed that which she hath left to the batterie of seasons, and furie of wethers, with some thicker skin or hide, as shee hath done our fingers ends, and the soales of our feet. Why seemes this hard to be believed? Betweene my fashion of apparell, and that of one of my countrie-clownes, I find much more difference betweene him and me, than betweene his fashion, and that of a man who is cloathed but with his bare skin. How many men (especially in *Turkie*,) go ever naked for devotions sake? A certaine man demanded of one of our loytring rogues, whom in the deep of frosty Winter, he saw wandring up and downe

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with nothing but his shirt about him, and yet as blithe and lusty as an other that keepes himselfe muffled and wrapt in warme furres up to the eares; how he could have patience to go so. *And have not you, good Sir,* (answered he) *your face all bare? Imagine I am all face.* The Italians report (as far as I remember) of the Duke of *Florence* his foole, who when his Lord asked him, how being so ill clad, he could endure the cold, which he hardly was able to doe himselfe; To whom the foole replied; *Master, use but my receipt, and put all the cloaths you have upon you, as I doe all mine; you shall feele no more cold than I doe.* King *Massinissa*, even in his eldest daies, were it never so cold, so frosty, so stormie, or sharpe wether, could never be induced, to put some thing on his head, but went alwaies bare-headed. The like is reported of the Emperor *Severus*. In the battels that past betweene the Ægyptians, and the Persians, *Herodotus* saith, that both himselfe and divers others tooke speciall notice, that of such as lay slaine on the ground, the Ægyptians sculs were without comparison much harder than the Persians: by reason that these go ever with their heads covered with coifs and turbants, and those from their infancie ever shaven and bare-headed. And King *Agesilaus*, even in his decrepit age, was ever wont to weare his cloaths both Winter and Summer alike. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Cæsar* did ever march formost before his troupes, and most commonly bare-headed, and on foot, whether the sunne

Bare heads

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Bare feet shone, or it rained. The like is reported of *Hannibal*,

> *—tum vertice nudo,*
> *Excipere insanos imbres, cœlique ruinam.*
> —Syl. Ital. 250.
>
> Bare-headed then he did endure,
> Heav'ns ruine and mad-raging showre.

A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but lately returned thence, writeth, that in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, both men and women, having all other parts clad, goe ever bare-footed, yea, and on horse-backe also. And *Plato* for the better health and preservation of the body doth earnestly perswade, that no man should ever give the feet and the head other cover, than Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chuse for their King next to ours, who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest Princes of our age, doth never weare gloves, nor what wether soever it be, winter or summer, other bonnet abroad than in the warme house. As I cannot endure to goe unbuttoned or untrussed, so the husband-men neighbouring about me, would be, and feele themselves as fettered or hand-bound, with going so. *Varro* is of opinion, that when we were appointed to stand bare headed before the gods, or in presence of the Magistrates, it was rather done for our health, and to enure and arme us against injuries of the wether, than in respect of reverence. And since we are speaking of cold, and are French-men,

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accustomed so strangely to array our selves in party-coloured sutes (not I, because I seldome weare any other then blacke or white, in imitation of my father) let us adde this one thing more, which Captaine *Martyn du Bellay* relateth in the voyage of *Luxemburg*, where hee saith to have seene so hard frosts, that their munition-wines were faine to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared unto the Souldiers by weight, which they caried away in baskets; and *Ovid*,

Wine frozen into blocks

Nudáque consistunt formam servantia testæ
Vina, nec hausta meri, sed data frusta bibunt.
—Ovid. *Trist.* iii. El. x. 23.

Bare wines, still keeping forme of caske, stand fast,
Not gulps, but gobbets of their wine they taste.

The frosts are so hard and sharpe in the emboguing of the Meotis fennes, that in the very place where *Mithridates* Lieutenant had delivered a battel to his enemies, on hard ground, and driefooted, and there defeated them; the next summer, he there obtained another sea-battel against them. The Romanes suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they had with the Carthaginians neere unto *Placentia*, for so much as they went to their charge with their bloud congealed, and limbes benummed, through extreme cold: whereas *Hanniball* had caused many fires to be made through-out his campe, to warme his souldiers by, and a quantitie of oile to be distributed amongst them, that therewith annointing themselves, they might make their sinewes more

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Effects of extreme cold

supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the bitter blasts of cold wind, which then blew, and nipping piercing of the ayre. The Græcians retreat from *Babilon* into their countrie, is renowned, by reason of the many difficulties and encombrances they encountred withall, and were to surmount: whereof this was one, that in the mountaines of *Armenia*, being surprised and encircled with so horrible and great quantitie of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the countrie, and the wayes: wherewith they were so straitly beset, that they continued a day and a night without eating or drinking; and most of their horses and cattell died: of their men a great number also deceased; many with the glittering and whitenesse of the snow, were strucken blinde: divers through the extremitie were lamed, and their limbes shrunken up, many starke stiffe, and frozen with colde, although their senses were yet whole. *Alexander* saw a nation, where in winter they burie their fruit-bearing trees under the ground, to defend them from the frost: a thing also used amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the subject of apparell: the King of *Mexico* was wont to change and shift his clothes foure times a day, and never wore them againe, employing his leavings and caststutes for his continuall liberalities and rewards; as also neither pot nor dish, nor any implement of his kitchin or table were twice brought before him.

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Chap. XXXVI

Of Cato the younger

I AM not possessed with this common errour, to judge of others according to what I am my selfe. I am easie to beleeve things differing from my selfe. Though I be engaged to one forme, I doe not tie the world unto it, as every man doth? And I beleeve and conceive a thousand manners of life, contrarie to the common sort: I more easily admit and receive difference, than resemblance in us. I discharge as much as a man will, another being of my conditions and principles, and simply consider of it in my selfe without relation, framing it upon it's owne modell. Though my selfe be not continent, yet doe I sincerely commend and allow the continencie of the Capuchins and Theatines, and highly praise their course of life. I doe by imagination insinuate my selfe into their place: and by how much more they bee other than my selfe, so much the more doe I love and honour them. I would gladly have every man judged apart, and not be drawne my selfe in consequence by others examples. My weaknesse doth no way alter the opinions I should have of the force and vigor of those that deserve it. *Sunt, qui nihil suadent, quàm quod se imitari posse confidunt* (Cic. *Orat. ad Br.*). *There be such as advise to nothing, but what they trust themselves can imitate.* Crawling on the face of the earth, I cease not to marke,

Video meliora, proboque: deteriora sequor

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Virtue hard to reach unto

even into the clouds, the inimitable height of some heroicke minds. It is much for me to have a formall and prescript judgement, if the effects bee not so, and at least to maintaine the chiefe part exempted from corruption. It is something to have a good minde, when my forces faile me. The age we live in (at least our climate) is so dull and leaden, that not only the execution, but the very imagination of vertue is farre to seeke, and seemes to be no other thing than a College supposition, and a gibrish word.

> *—virtutem verba putant, ut*
> *Lucum ligna:* —Hor. *Ep.* vi. i. 31.
> Vertue seemes words to these,
> As trees are wood, or woods are trees.

Quam vereri deberent, etiam si percipere non possent. Which yet they should reverence, though they could not reach unto. It is an eare-ring or pendent to hang in a cabinet, or at the tongues end, as well as at an eare for an ornament. There are no more vertuous actions knowne; those that beare a shew of vertue, have no essence of it: for profit, glorie, custome, feare, and other like strange causes direct us to produce them. Justice, valour, integritie, which we then exercise, may by others consideration, and by the countenance they publikely beare, be termed so: but with the true workman, it is no vertue at all. There is another end proposed; another efficient cause. Vertue alloweth of nothing, but what is done by her, and for her alone. In that great battell at

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Potidæa which the Græcians under *Pausanias* gained of *Mardonius* and the Persians, the victors following their custome, comming to share the glorie and prise of the victorie betweene them, ascribed the pre-excellencie of valor in that conflict to the *Spartane* nation. The Spartanes impartiall Judges of vertue, when they came to decide, to what particular man of their countrie, the honour to have done best in that day, should of right belong, they found that *Aristodemus* had most couragiously engaged and hazarded himselfe: Yet gave him not the prise of honour of it, because his vertue had beene therunto incited, by an earnest desire to purge himselfe from the reproch and infamie, which hee had incurred in the action at *Thermopyles*, and from all daring ambition to die couragiously, thereby to warrant his former imputation. Our judgements are yet sicke, and follow the depravations of our customes. I see the greatest part of our spirits to affect wit, and to shew themselves ingenious, by obscuring and detracting from the glorie of famous and generall ancient actions, giving them some base and malicious interpretation, fondly and enviously charging them with vaine causes, and frivolous occasions. A subtill invention no doubt. Let any man present me, with the most excellent and blamelesse action, and I will oppose it with fiftie vicious and bad intentions, all which shall carrie a face of likeli-hood. God knowes (to him that will extend them) what diversitie of images our internal will doth suffer: They

The possibilities of backbiting

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Generous appreciation

doe not so maliciously as grosely and rudely endevour to be ingenious with all their railing and detraction. The same paine a man taketh to detract from these noble and famous names, and the verie same libertie, would I as willingly take to lend them my shoulders to extoll and magnifie them. I would endevour to charge these rare and choise figures, selected by the consent of wise men, for the worlds example, as much, and as high, as my invention would give me leave with honour, in a plausible interpretation, and favourable circumstance. And a man must thinke, that the diligent labours of our invention, are farre beyond their merit. It is the part of honest minded men to pourtray vertue, as faire as possible faire may be. A thing which would no whit be mis-seeming or undecent, if passion should transport us to the favour and pursuit of so sacred formes, what these doe contrarie, they either doe it through malice or knaverie, with purpose to reduce and sute their beleefe to their capacitie, whereof I lately spake: or rather as I thinke, because their sight is not of sufficient power or clearnes, nor addressed to conceive or apprehend the farre-shining brightnes of vertue in naturall and genuine puritie: As *Plutarke* saith, that in his time, some imputed the cause of *Cato* the youngers death to the feare he had conceived of *Cesar:* whereat he hath some reason to be moved: by which a man may judge, how much more he would have beene offended with those that have ascribed the

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same unto ambition. Oh foolish people! Hee would no doubt have performed a faire action, so generous and so just, rather with ignominie, than for glorie. This man was truly a patterne, whom nature chose to shew how farre humane vertue may reach, and mans constancie attaine unto. But my purpose is not here to treat this rich argument: I will only confront together the sayings of five Latin Poets upon *Catoes* commendations, and for the interest of *Cato*, and by incidencie for theirs also. Now ought a gentleman well-bred, in respect of others, finde the two former somewhat languishing. The third more vigorous, but suppressed by the extravagancie of force. He will judge there were yet place for one or two degrees of invention, to reach unto the fourth, in consideration of which he will through admiration joyne hands. For the last (yet first in some degree and space, but which space he will sweare can by no humane spirit be filled up) he will be much amazed, he will be much amated. Loe here are wonders, we have more Poets than judges and interpreters of poesie. It is an easier matter to frame it, than to know it: Being base and humble, it may be judged by the precepts and art of it: But the good and loftie, the supreme and divine, is beyond rules, and above reason. Whosoever discerneth her beautie, with a constant, quicke-seeing, and setled looke, he can no more see and comprehend the same than the splendor of a lightning flash. It hath no communitie with our judgement; but ransacketh

Five Latin Poets upon Cato

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Martial and Manilius

and ravisheth the same. The furie which prickes and moves him that can penetrate her, doth also stricke and wound a third man, if he heare it either handled or recited, as the Adamant stone drawes, not only a needle, but infuseth some of her facultie in the same to draw others: And it is more apparently seene in theaters, that the sacred inspiration of the Muses, having first stirred up the Poet with a kinde of agitation unto choler, unto griefe, unto hatred, yea and beyond himselfe, whither and howsoever they please, doth also by the Poet strike and enter into the Actor, and [consecutively] by the Actor, a whole auditorie or multitude. It is the ligament of our senses depending one of another. Even from my infancie, Poesie hath had the vertue to transpierce and transport me. But that lively and feeling-moving that is naturally in me, hath diversly beene handled, by the diversitie of formes, not so much higher or lower (for they were ever the highest in every kind) as different in colour. First a blithe and ingenious fluiditie, then a quaint-wittie, and loftie conceit. To conclude, a ripe and constant force. *Ovid*, *Lucan*, and *Virgil*, will better declare it. But here our Gallants are in their full cariere.

Sit Cato dum vivit sanè vel Cæsare major.
—MART. *Epig.* xxxii. 5.

Let *Cato Junior*, while he
doth live, greater than *Cæsar* be.

Saith one.

—et invictum devictâ morte Catonem:
—MANIL. *Astr.* iv. 87.

Cato unconquered, death being vanquished.

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Saith another: And the third speaking of the civill warres betweene *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. Lucan, Horace, and Vergil

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.
—LUCAN. *Bel. Civ.* i. 127.

The cause that overcame with Gods was greater;
But the cause overcome pleasd *Cato* better.

And the fourth upon *Cæsars* commendations:

Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.—HOR. ii. *Od.* i. 23.

Of all the earth all parts inthralled,
Catoes minde only unappalled.

And the harts-master, after he hath enstalled the names of the greatest Romanes in his picture, endeth thus:

—his dantem jura Catonem.—VIRG. *Aen.* viii. 670.

Chiefe justice *Cato* doe decree
Lawes that for righteous soules should be.

CHAP. XXXVII

How we weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing

WHEN we reade in Histories (PLUT. *Vit. Pyrrh.* f.), that *Antigonus* was highly displeased with his sonne, at what time he presented unto him the head of King *Pirrhus* his enemie, slaine but a little before in fight against him; which he no sooner saw, but hee burst foorth a weeping. And that *Renate* Duke of *Loraine*,

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Cæsar at the sight of Pompey's head

wept for the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, whom hee had eftsoones discomfited, and was as an assistant mourner at his funeralls: And that in the battel of *Auroy* (which the Earle of *Montfort* had gained against the faction of *Charles de Blois*, for the Dutchy of *Britanie*) the victorious conqueror met with the body of his enemie deceased, mourned very grievously for him; a man must not suddenly exclaime.

E cosie avvien', che l'animo ciascuna
Sua passion, sotto contrario manto
Ricuopre, con la vista hor chiara, hor bruna.
So happens it, the minde covers each passion
Under a cloake of colours opposite,
To sight now cleare, now darke, in divers fashion.

When *Cæsar* was presented with *Pompeis* head, Histories report that he turn'd his looks aside, as from a ghastly and unpleasing spectacle. There hath beene so long a correspondencie and societie in the managing of publike affaires, mutually betweene them, such a communitie of fortunes, so many reciprocall offices and bonds of alliance, that a man cannot thinke his countenance to have beene forced, false, and wily, as this other supposeth.

—tutumque putavit
Jam bonus esse socer, lacrymas non sponte cadentes
Effudit gemitusque expressit pectore læto.
—Lucan. ix. 1040
Now to be kinde indeed he did not doubt
Father in law, teares, which came hardly out
He shed, and grones exprest
From inward pleased brest.

For certainly, howbeit the greatest number of

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our actions bee but masked and painted over with dissimulation, and that it may sometimes be true,

Our minds are often agitated by divers passions

Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est.
—Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* xvii. c. 14.

The weeping of an heire, is laughing under a visard or disguise.

Yet must a man consider by judging of his accidents, how our mindes are often agitated by divers passions; For (as they say) there is a certaine assembly of divers humors in our bodies, whereof she is soveraigne mistris, who most ordinarily, according to our complexions doth command us: so in our minde, although it containe severall motions that agitate the same, yet must one chiefly be predominant. But it is not with so full an advantage, but for the volubilitie and supplenesse of our minde, the weakest may by occasion reobtaine the place againe, and when their turne commeth, make a new charge, whence we see, not only children, who simply and naturally follow nature, often to weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing; but none of us all can vaunt himselfe, what wished for, or pleasant voyage soever he undertake, but that taking leave of his family and friends, he shall feele a chilling and panting of the heart, and if he shed not teares, at least he puts his foot in the stirrop with a sad and heavie cheere. And what gentle flame soever doth warme the heart of young virgins, yet are they hardly drawne to leave and forgoe their mothers, to betake them to their husbands: whatsoever this good fellow say;

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No one quality is always with us

Est ne novis nuptis odio Venus, ánne parentum
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrymulis,
Ubertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?
Non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, juverint.
—CATUL. *Eleg.* ii. 15.

Doe young Birds hate indeed fresh *Venus* toyes,
Or with false teares delude their parents joyes,
Which in their chambers they powre out amaine?
So helpe me God, they doe not true complaine.

So is it not strange to mourne for him dead, whom a man by no meanes would have alive againe. When I chide my boy, I doe it with the best heart I have: They are true and not fained imprecations: but that fit past over, let him have need of me, I will gladly doe him all the good I can, and by and by I turne over another leafe. If I chance to call one knave or asse, my purpose is not for ever to enfeoffe him with those nick-names; nor doe I thinke to say, tong thou liest, if immediately after I call him an honest man. No qualitie doth embrace us purely and universally. If it were not the countenance of a foole to speake alone, or to him selfe, there would scarce be day, or houre, wherein some body should not heare me mutter and grumble to my selfe, and against my selfe. A ( ) in the fooles teeth, yet doe not I thinke it to be my definition. He that seeth me sometimes to cast a frowning looke upon my wife, or sometimes a loving countenance, and thinkes, that either of them is but fained, he is a foole. *Nero* taking leave of his mother, whom hee sent to be drowned, felt notwithstanding the emotion of that motherly fare-

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well, and at one instant was strucken with horror and pitie. It is said, that the Sunnes-light is not of one continued piece, but that it so uncessantly, and without intermission doth cast so thicke new raies, one in the necke of another upon us, that wee cannot perceive the space betweene them. Conflicting emotions of Xerxes

Largus enim liquidi fons luminis ætherius sol
Irrigat assiduè cælum candore recenti,
Suppeditátque novo confestim lumine lumen.
—Lucr. v. 281.

Heav'ns Sunne the plenteous spring of liquid light
Still heav'n bedewes with splendor fresh and bright,
Still light supplies with light of fresher sight.

So doth our minde cast her points diversly and imperceptibly. *Artabanus* surprised *Xerxes* his nephew, and chid him for the sudden changing of his countenance. He was to consider the unmeasurable greatnesse of his forces at the passage of *Hellespont*, for the enterprise of *Greece*. First he was suddenly assailed by an excessive joy, to see so many thousands of men at his service, and witnessed the same by the alacritie and cheerefulnes of his countenance: And immediately at the verie moment, his thoughts suggesting, how so many lives were to be consumed, and should come to nothing (at the furthest, within one age) he gan to frowne his browes, and grew so pensive, that he wept. We have with a resolute and inexorable minde pursued the revenge of an injurie, and felt a singular content for the victorie; yet upon better advice doe we weepe: it is not that we weepe for: the thing is as it was, there is nothing changed: But

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Every thing hath divers faces

that our minde beholds the thing with another eie, and under an other shape it presents it selfe unto us. For every thing hath divers faces, sundry byases, and severall lustres. Aliance, kinred, old acquaintances, and long friendship seize on our imagination, and at that instant, passionate the same according to their qualitie, but the turne or change of it, is so violent, that it escapes us.

Nil adeo fieri celeri ratione videtur,
Quàm si mens fieri proponit et inchoat ipsa.
Ocius ergo animus quàm res se perciet ulla,
Ante oculos quarum in promptu natura videtur.
—L. iii. 183.

Nothing in so quicke sort seemes to be done,
As minde set on a thing, and once begun,
The minde that swifter stirres before our eies,
Than any thing, whose forme we soone comprize.

And therefore, intending to continue one body of all this pursuit, we deceive our selves. When *Timoleon* weepeth the murther he hath perpetrated with so mature and generous a determination, he weepeth not for the libertie restored to his countrie, nor the tyrant, but he weepeth for his brother. One part of his dutie is acted, let us permit him to play the other.

Chap. XXXVIII

Of Solitarinesse

LET us leave apart this outworne comparison, betweene a solitarie and an active life: And touching that goodly saying under which ambition

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and avarice shroud themselves; that we are not borne for our particular, but for the publike good: Let us boldly refer our selves to those that are engaged; and let them beat their conscience, if on the contrarie, the states, the charges, and this trash of the world, are not rather sought and sued for to draw a private commoditie from the publike. The bad and indirect meanes wherethrough in our age men canvase and toyle to attaine the same, doe manifestly declare the end thereof to be of no great consequence. Let us answer ambition, that herselfe gives us the taste of solitarinesse. For what doth she shun so much as company? What seeketh shee more than elbow-roome? There is no place, but there are meanes and waies to doe well or ill. Nevertheless if the saying of *Bias* be true; *That the worst part is the greatest:* Or that which *Ecclesiastes* saith, *That of a thousand there is not one good.*

To do well or ill asks no special place

> *Rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem, quot*
> *Thebarum portæ, vel divitis ostia Nili:*
> —Juvn. *Sat.* xiii. 26.
>
> Good men are rare, so many scarce (I feare)
> As gates of *Thebes*, mouths of rich *Nilus* were.

Contagion is very dangerous in a throng. A man must imitate the vicious, or hate them: both are dangerous: for to resemble them is perilous, because they are many, and to hate many is hazzardous, because they are dissemblable, and Merchants that travell by sea, have reason to take heed, that those which goe in the same ship, be

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The white sheep in a black flock

not dissolute, blasphemers, and wicked, judging such company unfortunate. Therefore *Bias* said pleasantly to those, that together with him passt the danger of a great storme, and called to the Gods for helpe: *Peace my masters, lest they should heare, that you are here with me.* And of a more militarie example, *Albuberque*, Viceroy in *India* for *Emanuel* King of *Portugall*, in an extreme danger of a sea-tempest, tooke a young boy upon his shouldiers, for this only end, that in the common perill his innocencie might be his warrant, and recommending to Gods favour, to set him on shore: yet may a wise man live every where contented, yea and alone, in the throng of a Pallace: but if he may chuse, he will (saith he) *Avoid the sight of it.* If need require, he will endure the first: but if he may have his choice, he will chuse the latter. He thinks he hath not sufficiently rid himselfe from vices, if he must also contest with other mens faults. *Charondas* punished those for wicked, that were convicted to have frequented lewd companies. There is nothing so dis-sociable and sociable as man, the one for his vice, the other for his nature. And I think *Antisthenes* did not satisfie him that upbraided him with his conversation with the wicked, saying, *That Physicians live amongst the sicke.* Who if they stead sick-mens healths, they empaire their owne, by the infection, continuall visiting, touching and frequenting of diseases. Now (as I suppose) the end is both one, thereby to live more at leasure, and better at ease. But man doth not alwaies seeke the

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best way to come unto it, who often supposeth to have quit affaires, when he hath but changed them. There is not much lesse vexation in the government of a private family, than in the managing of an entire state: wheresoever the minde is busied, there it is all. And though domesticall occupations be lesse important, they are as importunate. Moreover, though we have freed our selves from the court, and from the market, we are not free from the principall torments of our life.

Post equitem sedet atra Cura

—ratio et prudentia curas,
Non locus effusi latè maris arbiter aufert.
—Hor. i. *Epist.* xi. 25.

Reason and wisdome may set cares aside,
Not place the Arbiter of seas so wide.

Shift we, or change we places never so often, ambition, avarice, irresolution, feare and concupiscences never leave us.

Et post equitem sedet atra cura.—Ho. iii. *Od.* i. 39.

Care looking grim and blacke, doth sit
Behinde his backe that rides from it.

They often follow us, even into immured cloisters, and into schooles of Philosophy; nor doe hollow rocks, nor wearing of haire-shirts, nor continuall fastings rid us from them.

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.—Virg. *Aen.* iv. 73

The shaft that death implide
Sticks by the flying side.

It was told *Socrates*, that one was no whit

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'We carry our fetters with us'

amended by his travell: *I beleeve it well* (said he) *for he carried himselfe with him.*

Quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? patriâ quis exul
Se quoque fugit? —Hor. li. *Od.* xvi. 18.

Why change we soyles warm'd with another Sunne?
Who from home banisht hath himselfe out-runne?

If a man doe not first discharge both himselfe and his minde from the burthen that presseth her, removing from place to place will stirre and presse her the more; as in a ship, wares well stowed, and closely piled, take up least roome, you doe a sicke-man more hurt than good, to make him change place, you settle an evill in removing the same; as stakes or poles, the more they are stirred and shaken, the faster they sticke, and sinke deeper into the ground. Therefore is it not enough, for a man to have sequestred himselfe from the concourse of people: it is not sufficient to shift place, a man must also sever himselfe from the popular conditions, that are in us. A man must sequester and recover himselfe from himselfe.

—rupi jam vincula, dicas,
Nam luctata canis nodum arripit, attamen illa
Cùm fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenæ.
—Pers. *Sat.* v. 158.

You will say haply I my bonds have quit,
Why so the striving dog the knot hath bit;
Yet when he flies, much chaine doth follow it.

We carry our fetters with us: it is not an absolute libertie; we still cast backe our lookes

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towards that we have left behinde: our minde doth still run on it; our fansie is full of it. True solitude

—nisi purgatum est pectus, quæ prælia nobis
Atque pericula tunc ingratis insinuandum?
Quantæ conscindunt hominem cupidinis acres
Sollicitum curæ, quantîque perinde timores?
Quidve superbia, spurcitia, ac petulantia, quantas
Efficiunt clades, quid luxus desidiesque?—Lucr. v. 44.

Unlesse our breast be purg'd, what warres must wee
What perils then, though much displeased, see?
How great feares, how great cares of sharpe desire
Doe carefull man distract, torment, enfire?
Uncleannesse, wantonnesse, sloth, riot, pride,
How great calamities have these implide?

Our evill is rooted in our minde: and it cannot scape from it selfe.

In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.
—Hor. i. *Epist.* xiv. 13.

The minde in greatest fault must lie,
Which from it selfe can never flie.

Therefore must it be reduced and brought into it selfe: It is the true solitarinesse, and which may be enjoyed even in the frequencie of peopled Cities, and Kings courts: but it is more commodiously enjoyed apart. Now sithence wee undertake to live solitarie, and without companie, let us cause our contentment to depend of our selves: Let us shake off all bonds that tie us unto others: Gaine we that victorie over us, that in good earnest we may live solitarie, and therein live at our ease. *Stilphon* having escaped the combustion of his Citie, wherein he had lost, both wife, and children, and all his

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The inner sanctuary

goods; *Demetrius Poliorcetes* seeing him in so great a ruine of his Countrie, with an unaffrighted countenance, demanded of him, whether he had received any losse; *He answered, No: and that (thanks given to God) he had lost nothing of his owne.* It is that, which *Antisthenes* the Philosopher said very pleasantly, *That man ought to provide himselfe with munitions, that might float upon the water, and by swimming escape the danger of shipwracke with him.* Verily, *a man of understanding hath lost nothing, if he yet have himselfe.* When the Citie of *Nola* was over-run by the Barbarians, *Paulinus* Bishop thereof, having lost all he had there, and being their prisoner, prayed thus unto God: *Oh Lord deliver me from feeling of this losse: for thou knowest as yet they have toucht nothing that is mine.* The riches that made him rich, and the goods which made him good, were yet absolutely whole. Behold what it is to chuse treasures well, that may be freed from injurie; and to hide them in a place, where no man may enter, and which cannot be betraied but by our selves. A man that is able, may have wives, children, goods, and chiefly health, but not so tie himselfe unto them, that his felicitie depend on them. We should reserve a store-house for our selves, what need soever chance; altogether ours, and wholy free, wherein we may hoard up and establish our true libertie, and principall retreit and solitarinesse, wherein we must go alone to our selves, take our ordinarie entertainment, and so privately, that no acquaintance or communication

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of any strange thing may therein find place: there to discourse, to meditate and laugh, as, without wife, without children, and goods, without traine, or servants; that if by any occasion they be lost, it seeme not strange to us to passe it over; we have a mind moving and turning in it selfe; it may keep it selfe companie; it hath wherewith to offend and defend, wherewith to receive, and wherewith to give. Let us not feare that we shall faint and droop through tedious and mind-tyring idlenesse in this solitarinesse.

A mind that keeps itself company

In solis sis tibi turba locis.

Be thou, when with thee is not any,
As good unto thy selfe as many.

Vertue is contented with it selfe, without discipline, without words, and without effects. In our accustomed actions, of a thousand there is not one found that regards us: he whom thou seest so furiously, and as it were besides himselfe, to clamber or crawle up the citie wals, or breach, as a point-blank to a whole voly of shot, and another all wounded and skarred, crazed and faint, and wel-nie hunger-starven, resolved rather to die, than to open his enemie the gate, and give him entrance; doest thou think he is there for himselfe? No verily, It is peradventure for such a one, whom neither he, nor so many of his fellowes ever saw, and who haply takes no care at all for them; but is there-whilst wallowing up to the eares in sensualitie, slouth, and all manner of carnal delights.

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Toomuch concern for others

This man whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou seest come out of his study meagre-looking, with eyes-trilling, flegmatike, squalide, and spauling, doest thou thinke, that plodding on his books he doth seek how he shall become an honester man; or more wise, or more content? There is no such matter. He wil either die in his pursuit, or teach posteritie the measure of *Plautus* verses, and the true Orthography of a Latine word. Who doth not willingly chop and counter-change his health, his ease, yea, and his life for glorie, and for reputation? The most unprofitable, vaine, and counterfet coine, that is in use with us. Our death is not sufficient to make us afraid, let us also charge our selves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends, and people. Our owne affaires doe not sufficiently trouble and vexe us; Let us also drudge, toile, vex, and torment our selves with our neighbours and friends matters.

Vah quemquámne hominem in animum instituere, aut
Parare, quod sit charius, quàm ipse est sibi?
—Ter. *Adel.* act i. scen. i. 13.

Fie, that a man should cast, that ought, than he
Himselfe of himselfe more belov'd should be.

Solitarinesse mee seemeth hath more apparance and reason in those which have given their most active and flourishing age unto the world, in imitation of *Thales*. We have lived long enough for others, live we the remainder of our life unto our selves: let us bring home our cogi-

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tations and inventions unto our selves, and unto our ease. It is no easie matter to make a safe retreit: it doth over-much trouble us with[out] joyning other enterprises unto it. Since God gives us leasure to dispose of our dislodging. Let us prepare our selves unto it, packe wee up our baggage. Let us betimes bid our companie farewell. Shake we off these violent hold-fasts, which else-where engage us, and estrange us from our selves. These so strong bonds must be untied, and a man may eft-soones love this or that, but wed nothing but himselfe; That is to say, let the rest be our owne: yet not so combined and glued together, that it may not be sundred, without fleaing us, and therewithall, pull away some peece of our owne. The greatest thing of the world, is for a man to know how to be his owne. It is high time to shake off societie, since we can bring nothing to it. And he that cannot lend, let him take heed of borrowing. Our forces faile us: retire we them, and shut them up into our selves. He that can suppresse and confound in himselfe the offices of so many amities, and of the company, let him doe it. In this fall, which makes us inutile, irkesome, and importunate to others, let him take heed he be not importunate, irkesome, and unprofitable to himselfe. Let him flatter, court, and cherish himselfe, and above all let him governe himselfe, respecting his reason and fearing his conscience, so that he may not without shame stumble or trip in their presence. *Rarum est enim, ut satis se quisque vereatur. For it is a rare matter, that every man sufficiently should*

'The greatest thing of the world'

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'An excessive virtue' *stand in awe and reverence of himselfe. Socrates* saith, *That young men ought to be instructed, and men exercised in well doing; and old men withdraw themselves from all civill and military negotiations, living at their owne discretion, without obligation to any certaine office.* There are some complexions, more proper for these precepts of retreit than others. Those which have a tender and demisse apprehension, a squemish affection, a delicate will, and which cannot easily subject or imploy it selfe (of which both by naturall condition and propense discourse I am one) wil better apply themselves unto this counsell than active minds, and busie spirits; which imbrace all, every where engage, and in all things passionate themselves; that offer, that present, and yeeld themselves to all occasions. A man must make use of all these accidentall commodities, and which are without us, so long as they be pleasing to us; but not make them our principall foundation: It is not so, nor reason, nor nature permit it. Why should we against their lawes subject our contentment to the power of others? Moreover, to anticipate the accidents of fortune; for a man to deprive himselfe of the commodities he hath in possession, as many have done for devotion, and some Philosophers by discourse; to serve themselves, to lie upon the hard ground, to pull out their own eyes, to cast their riches into the Sea, to seeke for paine and smart (some by tormenting this life, for the happinesse of another; othersome placing themselves on the lowest step, thereby to warrant

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themselves from a new fall) is the action of an excessive vertue. Let sterner and more vigorous complexions make their lurking glorious and more exemplar. A more moderate preparation

—tuta et parvula laudo,
Cùm res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
Verùm ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
Hos sapere, et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.
—Hor. i. *Epist.* xv. 42.

When riches faile, I praise the safe estate,
Though small; base things doe not high thoughts abate.
But when tis better, finer with me, I
They only live well, and are wise, doe crie,
Whose coine in faire farmes doth well-grounded lie.

There is worke enough for me to doe without going so far. It sufficeth me under fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour; and being at ease, as far as imagination may attaine unto, to represent the evill to come unto my selfe: Even as we enure our selves to Tilts and Tourneyes, and counterfeit warre in time of peace. I esteeme not *Arcesilaus* the Philosopher lesse reformed, because I know him to have used houshold implements of gold and silver, according as the condition of his fortune gave him leave. I rather value him the more, than if he had not done it, forsomuch as he both moderately and liberally made use of them. I know unto what limits naturall necessitie goeth; and I consider the poore almesman begging at my doore, to be often more plumb-cheekt, in better health and

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A prayer for contentment

liking than I am: Then doe I enter into his estate, and assay to frame and sute my mind unto his byase. And so over-running other examples, albeit I imagine death, povertie, contempt, and sicknesse to be at my heeles, I easily resolve my selfe, not to apprehend any feare of that, which one of lesse worth than my selfe doth tolerate and undergoe with such patience: And I cannot beleeve, that the basenesse or shallownesse of understanding, can doe more than vigor and far-seeing, or that the effects and reason of discretion, cannot reach to the effects of custome and use. And knowing what slender hold-fast these accessorie commodities have, I omit not in full jovyssance of them, humbly to beseech God of his mercie (as a soveraigne request) to make me contented with my selfe, and with the goods proceeding from me. I see some gallantly-disposed young men, who notwithstanding their faire-seeming shew, have many boxes full of pils in their coffers at home, to take when the rhume shall assaile them; which so much the lesse they feare, when they thinke the remedy to be at hand. So must a man doe: as also if he feele himselfe subject to some greater infirmitie, to store himselfe with medicaments that may asswage, supple, and stupifie the part grieved. The occupation a man should chuse for such a life, must neither be painfull nor tedious, otherwise, in vaine should we accompt to have sought our abiding there, which depends from the particular taste of every man. Mine doth no way accommodate it selfe

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to husbandrie. Those that love it, must with moderation apply themselves unto it. The golden mean in husbandry

Conentur sibi res, non se submittere rebus.
—*Epist.* i. 19.

Endevour they things to them to submit,
Not them to things (if they have *Horace* wit)

Husbandrie is otherwise a servile office, as *Salust* termeth it: It hath more excusable parts, as the care of gardening, which *Xenophon* ascribeth to *Cyrus*: A meane or mediocritie may be found, betweene this base and vile carking care, extended and full of toiling labor, which we see in men that wholly plunge themselves therein, and that profound and extreme retchlesnesse to let all things goe at six and seven, which is seen in others.

—Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox.
—*Epist.* xii. 12.

Cattle destroyd *Democritus* his sets,
While his mind bodilesse vagaries fets.

But let us heare the counsell, which *Plinie* the younger giveth to his friend *Cornelius Rufus*, touching this point of Solitarinesse: *I perswade thee in this full-gorged and fat retreit, wherein thou art, to remit this base and abject care of husbandrie unto thy servants, and give thy selfe to the study of letters, whence thou maist gather something, that may altogether be thine owne*; He meaneth reputation: like unto *Ciceroes* humor, who saith, *That he will imploy his solitarinesse*

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Present denial for future possession

and residence from publike affaires, to purchase unto himselfe by his writings an immortall life.

—usque adeone
Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?
—Pers. *Sat.* i. 27.

Is it then nothing worth that thou doost know,
Unlesse what thou doost know, thou others show?

It seemeth to be reason, when a man speaketh to withdraw himselfe from the world, that one should looke beyond him. These doe it but by halfes. Indeed they set their match against the time they shall be no more: but pretend to reap the fruit of their dessignes, when they shall be absent from the world, by a ridiculous contradiction. The imagination of those, who through devotion seeke solitarinesse, filling their minds with the certaintie of heavenly promises, in the other life, is much more soundly consorted. They propose God as an object infinit in goodnesse, and incomprehensible in power, unto themselves. The soule hath therein, in all free libertie, wherewith to glut her selfe. Afflictions and sorrowes redound to their profit, being imployed for the purchase and attaining of health, and eternall gladnesse. Death, according to ones wish, is a passage to so perfect an estate. The sharpnesse of their rules, is presently made smooth and easie by custome; and carnall concupiscences, rejected, abated, and lulled asleep by refusing them; for nothing entertaineth them but use and exercise. *This only end of another life, blessedly immortall, doth rightly merit we should*

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abandon the pleasures and commodities of this our life. And he that can enlighten his soule with the flame of a lively faith and hope, really and constantly, in his solitarinesse, doth build unto himselfe a voluptuous and delicious life, far surmounting all other lives. Therefore doth neither the end nor middle of this counsell please me. We are ever falling into a relaps, from an ague to a burning fever. This plodding occupation of bookes, is as painfull as any other, and as great an enemie unto health, which ought principally to be considered. And a man should not suffer himselfe to be inveagled by the pleasure he takes in them: It is the same pleasure, that loseth the thriving husband-man, the greedy-covetous, the sinning-voluptuous, and the puft-up ambitious. The wisest men teach us sufficiently to beware and shield us from the treasons of our appetites, and to discerne true and perfect pleasures, from delights blended and entermingled with more paine. For, most pleasures (say they) tickle, fawne upon, and embrace us, with purpose to strangle us, as did the theeves whom the Ægyptians termed *Philistas:* And if the head-ach would seize upon us before drunkennesse, we would then beware of too much drinking: but sensualitie the better to entrap us, marcheth before, and hideth her tracke from us. Bookes are delightfull; but if by continuall frequenting them, we in the end lose both health and cheerefulnesse (our best parts) let us leave them. I am one of those who thinke their fruit can no way countervaile this losse. As men that have long

'Much study is a weariness of the flesh'

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Shun all disturbing passions

time felt themselves enfeebled through some indisposition, doe in the end yeeld to the mercie of Physicke, and by art have certaine rules of life prescribed them, which they will not transgresse: So he that with-drawes himselfe, as distasted and over-tired with the common life, ought likewise to frame and prescribe this unto the rules of reason; direct and range the same by premeditation, and discourse. He must bid all manner of travell farewell, what shew soever it beare; and in generall shun all passions that any way empeach the tranquillitie of mind and body, and follow the course best agreeing with his humour.

> *Unusquisque sua noverit ire via.*
> —PROPERT. ii. *El.* xxv. 38.
>
> His owne way every man
> Tread-out directly can.

A man must give to thriving husbandrie, to laborious study, to toilesome hunting, and to every other exercise, the utmost bounds of pleasure; and beware he engage himselfe no further, if once paine begin to intermeddle it selfe with her; we should reserve businesse and negotiations, only for so much as is behoovefull to keepe us in breath, and to warrant us from the inconveniences which the other extremitie of a base, faint-harted idlenesse drawes after it. There are certaine barren and thornie sciences, which for the most part are forged for the multitude: they should be left for those, who are for the service of the world. As for my selfe,

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I love no books, but such as are pleasant, and easie, and which tickle me, or such as comfort and counsell me, to direct my life and death. Carpe diem

—tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres
Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonóque est.
—Hor. i. *Epist.* iv. 4.

Silently creeping midst the wholesome wood
With care what's for a wise man and a good.

The wiser sort of men, having a strong and vigorous mind, may frame unto themselves an altogether spirituall life. But mine being common, I must help to uphold my selfe by corporall commodities: And age having eftsoones dispoiled me of those that were most sutable to my fantasie, I instruct and sharpen my appetite to those remaining most sortable this other season. We must tooth and naile retaine the use of this lives pleasures, which our yeares snatch from us, one after another:

Carpamus dulcia, nostrum est,
Quòd vivis: cinis et manes et fabula fies.
—Pers. *Sat.* v. 155.

Plucke we sweet pleasures: we thy life give thee.
Thou shalt a tale, a ghost, and ashes be.

Now concerning the end of glorie, which *Plinie*, and *Cicero* propose unto us, it is far from my discourse: The most opposite humour to solitarie retiring, is ambition. *Glorie and rest, are things that cannot squat in one same forme:* as far as I see, these have nought but their armes and legs out of the throng, their

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The advice of Epicurus and Seneca

mind and intent is further and more engaged in them than ever it was.

Tun' vetule auriculis alienis colligis escas?—PERS. *Sat.* i. 22.

Gatherst thou dotard at these yeares,
Fresh baits, fine food, for others eares?

They have gone backe that they might leap the better, and with a stronger motion make a nimbler offer amidst the multitude. Will you see how they shoot-short by a cornes breadth? let us but counterpoise the advice of two Philosophers, and of two most different sects: The one writing to *Idomeneus*, the other to *Lucilius* their friends, to divert them from the managing of affaires and greatnesse, unto a solitarie kind of life. *You have* (say they) *lived hitherto swimming and floating adrift, come and die in the haven; you have given the past of your life unto light, give the remainder unto darknesse. It is impossible to give over occupations, if you doe not also give over the fruits of them: Therefore cleare your selfe from all care and glorie. There is great danger, lest the glittering of your fore-passed actions should overmuch dazle you, yea, and follow you even to your den. Together with other concupiscences, shake off that which commeth from the approbation of others. And touching your knowledge and sufficiencie, take you no care of them, they will lose no whit of their effect; if your selfe be any thing the better for them. Remember but him, who being demanded, to what purpose he toyled so much about an Art, which could by no meanes*

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come to the knowledge of many. Few are enow for me; one will suffice, yea, lesse than one will content me, answered he. He said true: you and another are a sufficient theatre one for another; or you to your selfe alone. Let the people be one unto you, and one be all the people to you: It is a base ambition to goe about to draw glorie from ones idlenesse, and from ones lurking hole. A man must doe as some wilde beasts, which at the entrance of their caves, will have no manner of footing seene. You must no longer seeke, what the world saith of you, but how you must speake unto your selfe: withdraw your selfe into your selfe; but first prepare your selfe to receive your selfe: it were folly to trust to your selfe, if you cannot governe your selfe. A man may as well faile in solitarinesse, as in companie, there are waies for it, untill such time as you have framed your selfe such, that you dare not halt before your selfe, and that you shall be ashamed of, and beare a kind of respect unto your selfe, *Obversentur species honestæ animo* (Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* ii.): *Let honest* Ideaes *still represent themselves before your mind:* Ever present *Cato, Phocion,* and *Aristides* (Senec. *Epist.* xi.) unto your imagination, in whose presence even fooles would hide their faults, and establish them as controulers of all your intentions. If they be disordered and untuned, their reverence will order and tune them againe: they will containe you in a way, to be contented with your selfe; to borrow nothing but

Rely upon self, not upon others

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The counsel of true philosophy

from your selfe, to settle and stay your mind in assured and limited cogitations, wherein it may best please it selfe, and having gotten knowledge of true felicities, which according to the measure a man understands them, he shall accordingly injoy, and with them rest satisfied, without wishing a further continuance, either of life or name. Loe heere the counsell of truly-pure, and purely-true philosophie, not of a vaine-glorious, boasting, and prating philosophie, as is that of the two first.

Chap. XXXIX

A consideration upon Cicero

ONE word more in comparison of these two. There are gathered out of *Ciceroes* writings and from *Plinies*, (in mine opinion little agreeing with his unckle) infinite testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious. Amongst others, that they openly solicit the Historians of their times, not to forget them in their writings: and fortune, as it were in spight, hath made the vanitie of their request to continue even to our daies, and long since the histories were lost. But this exceedeth all hearts-basenesse in persons of that stampe, to have gone about to draw some principall glorie from prating and speaking, even to imploy their private Epistles written to their friends; in such

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sort, as some missing the opportunitie to be sent, they notwithstanding cause them to be published, with this worthy excuse, that they would not lose their travell and lucubrations. Is it not a seemly thing in two *Romane Consuls*, chiefe magistrates of the common-wealth, Empresse of the world, to spend their time in wittily devising, and closely hudling up of a quaint missive or wittie epistle, therby to attaine the reputation, that they perfectly understand their mother tongue? What could a seely School-master, who gets his living by such trash, doe worse? If the acts of *Xenophon*, or of *Cæsar* had not by much exceeded their eloquence, I cannot beleeve, they would ever have written them. They have endevored to recommend unto posterity, not their sayings, but their doings. And if the perfection of well-speaking might bring any glorie sutable unto a great personage, *Scipio* and *Lelius* would never have resigned the honour of their Comedies, and the elegancies, and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latine tongue, unto an Affrican servant: For, to prove this labour to be theirs, the exquisit eloquence, and excellent invention thereof doth sufficiently declare it: and *Terence* himselfe doth avouch it: And I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockerie and injurie, to raise a man to worth, by qualities mis-seeming his place, and unfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthy; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principall object. As

Acts, not words

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Qualities should agree with occupation

he that would commend a King to be a cunning Painter, or a skilfull Architect, or an excellent Harquibuzier, or a never missing runner at the Ring. These commendations acquire a man no honour, if they be not presented altogether with those that are proper and convenient unto him, that is to say, justice, and the skill to governe, and knowledge to direct his people both in peace and warre. In this sort doth Agriculture honour *Cyrus*, and Eloquence *Charlemaine*, together with his knowledge in good letters. I have in my time seen some, who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living, to disavow their aprentissage, mar their pen, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie; and which our people holds, to be seldome found amongst wise men, endevouring to be commended for better qualities. *Demosthenes* his companions in their ambassage to *Philip, praised their Prince to be faire, eloquent, and a good quaffer. Demosthenes* said, *they were commendations rather fitting a woman, an advocate, and a spunge, than a King.*

Imperet bellante prior, jacentem
Lenis in hostem.—Hor. *Car. Secul.* 51.
Better he rule, who mercifull will rue
His foe subdued, than he that can subdue.

It is not his profession to know, either how to hunt cunningly, or to dance nimbly.

Orabunt causas alii, cælique meatus
Describent radio, et fulgentia sidera dicent;
Hic regere imperio populos sciat.—Virg. *Æn.* vi. 850.

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Others shall causes plead, describe the skies
Motion by instrument, say how stars rise:
But let him know to rule (just, valiant, wise).

Excellence in less necessary things to be condemned

Plutarke saith moreover, *That to appeare so absolutely excellent in these lesse-necessarie parts, is to produce a witnesse against himselfe, to have ill spent his houres, and fondly bestowed his study, which might better have beene imployed to more behoovefull and profitable use.* So that *Philip* King of *Macedon*, having heard great *Alexander* his sonne sing at a feast and vie with the best Musitians: *Art thou not ashamed* (said he unto him) *to sing so well?* And to the same *Philip*, said a Musitian, gainst whom he contended about his Art, *God forbid, my Soveraigne, that ever so much hurt should befall you, that you should understand these things better than my selfe.* A King ought to be able to answer, as *Ipicrates* did the Orator who in his invective urged him in this manner: *And what art thou thou shouldst so brave it? Art thou a man at Armes? Art thou an Archer? Art thou a Pike-man? I am none of all those, but I am he who command all those.* And *Antisthenes* made it as an argument of little valour in *Ismenias*, when some commended him to be an excellent Flutist. Well I wot, that when I heare some give themselves to imitate the phrase of my Essayes, I would rather have them hold their peace: They doe not so much raise the words, as depresse the sense; so much the more sharply, by how much more obliquely. Yet am I deceived if some others take not more hold on the matter;

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The worth of Montaigne's examples

and how well or ill soever, if any writer hath scattered the same, either more materiall, or at least thicker on his paper: That I may collect the more, I doe but huddle up the arguments or chiefe heads. Let me but adde what followes them, I shall daily increase this volume. And how many stories have I glanced at therein, that speake not a word, which whosoever shal unfold, may from them draw infinite Essayes? Nor they, nor my allegations doe ever serve simply for examples, authoritie, or ornament. I doe not only respect them for the use I draw from them. They often (beyond my purpose) produce the seed of a richer subject, and bolder matter, and often collaterally, a more harmonious tune, both for me, that will expresse no more in this place, and for them that shall hit upon my tune.

But returning to vertue, *I find no great choice, betweene him that can speake nothing but evill, and one that can talke nothing but to talke well. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas* (SEN. *Epist.* CXV. p.). *Finenesse is no great grace for a man. Wise men say, that in respect of knowledge, there is nothing but Philosophy, and in regard of effects, but Vertue;* which is generally fit for all degrees, and for al orders. Something there is alike in these two other Philosophers; for they also promise eternitie to the Epistles, they write to their friends. But after another fashion, and to a good purpose, accommodating themselves to others vanitie; For they send them word, that

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if care to make themselves knowen unto future ages, and respect of renowne, doth yet retaine them in the managing of affaires, and makes them feare solitarinesse, and a retired life, to which they would call them, that they take no more paines for it: forasmuch as they have sufficient credit with posteritie, by answering them; and were it but by the Epistles they write unto them, they will make their name as famous, and as farre knowen, as all their publike actions might doe. Besides this difference, they are not frivolous, idle, and triviall Epistles, and only compact and held together with exquisite choise words, hudled-up and ranged to a just smoothe cadence, but stufft and full of notable sayings, and wise sentences; by which a man doth not only become more eloquent, but more wise, and that teach us, not to say well, but to doe well. Fie on that eloquence, which leaves us with a desire of it, and not of things: unlesse a man will say, that *Ciceroes* being so exceedingly perfect, doth frame it selfe a body of perfection. I will further alleage a storie, which to this purpose we reade of him, to make us palpably feele his naturall condition. He was to make an Oration in publike, and being urged betimes to prepare himselfe for it, *Eros* one of his servants came to tel him, the Auditorie was deferred till the morrow next; he was so glad of it, that for so good newes he gave him his libertie. Touching this subject of Epistles, thus much I will say; It is a worke

The Latin Epistles

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Montaigne's style

wherein my friends are of opinion I can doe something: And should more willingly have undertaken to publish my gifts, had I had who to speake unto. It had beene requisite (as I have had other times) to have had a certaine commerce to draw me on, to encourage me, and to uphold me. For, to goe about to catch the winde in a net, as others doe, I cannot; and it is but a dreame. I am a sworne enemie to all falsifications. I should have beene more attentive, and more assured, having a friendly and strong direction, than to behold the divers images of a whole multitude: and I am deceived, if it had not better succeeded with me. I have naturally a comical and familiar stile: But after a maner peculiar unto my self, inept to all publike Negotiations, answering my speech, which is altogether close, broken, and particular: I have no skill in ceremonious letters, which have no other substance, but a faire contexture of complemental phrases and curteous words. I have no taste nor faculty of these tedious offers of service and affection. I believe not so much as is said, and am nothing pleased to say more than I believe. It is farre from that which is used now adaies: For, there was never so abject and servile a prostitution of presentations; life, soule, devotion, adoration, servant, slave; all these words are so generally used, that when they would expresse a more emphaticall intent and respective will, they have no meanes left them to expresse it. I deadly hate to heare

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a flatterer: which is the cause I naturally affect a pithy, sinnowie, drie, round, and harsh kind of speach; which, of such as have no further acquaintance with me, is judged to encline to disdaine. I honor them most, whom I seeme to regard least: And where my mind marcheth most cheerefully, I often forget the steps of gravitie: And I offer my selfe but faintly and rudely to those whose I am indeed, and present my selfe least, to such as I have most given my selfe. Me thinkes they should read it in my heart, and that the expression of my words, wrongeth my conception. To welcome, to take leave, to bid farewell, to give thanks, to salute, to present my service, and such verball complements of the ceremoniall lawes of our civilitie, I know no man so sottishly-barren of speech, as my selfe. And I was never imployed to indite Letters of favour or commendatorie, but he for whom they were, judged them drie, barren, and faint. The Italians are great Printers of Epistles, whereof I thinke I have a hundred severall Volumes. I deeme those of *Hanniball Caro* to be the best. If all the paper I have heretofore scribled for Ladies were extant, at what time my hand was truly transported by my passion, a man should haply find some page worthy to be communicated unto idle and fond-doting youth, embabuinized with this furie. I ever write my letters in post-hast, and so rashly-head long, that howbeit I write intolerably ill, I had rather write with mine

Montaigne's speech

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Montaigne's letters

owne hand, than imploy another: for I find none that can follow me, and I never copy them over againe. I have accustomed those great persons that know me, to endure blots, blurs, dashes, and botches, in my letters, and a sheete without folding or margine. Those that cost me, either most labour or studie, are they that are least worth. When I once begin to traile them, it is a signe my mind is not upon them. I commonly begin without project: the first word begets the second. Our moderne letters are more fraught with borders, and prefaces, than with matter, as I had rather write two, than fold and make up one, which charge I commonly resigne to others: So likewise when the matter is ended, I would willingly give another the charge, to adde these long orations, offers, praiers, and imprecations, which we place at the end of them, and wish hartily, some new fashion would discharge us of them. As also to superscribe them with a legend of qualities, titles, and callings, wherein, lest I might have tripped, I have often times omitted writing, especially to men of Justice, Lawyers, and Financiers. So many innovations of offices, so difficult a dispensation and ordinance of divers names and titles of honour, which being so dearely bought, can neither be exchanged or forgotten without offence. I likewise find it gracelesse and idly-fond, to charge the front and inscription of the many bookes and pamphlets, which we daily cause to be imprinted with them.

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CHAP. XL

That the taste of goods or evils doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them

MEN (saith an ancient Greeke sentence) *are tormented by the opinions they have of things, and not by things themselves.* It were a great conquest for the ease of our miserable humane condition, if any man could establish every where this true proposition. For if evils have no entrance into us, but by our judgement, it seemeth that it lieth in our power, either to contemne or turne them to our good. If things yeeld themselves unto our mercie, why should we not have the fruition of them, or apply them to our advantage? If that which we call evill and torment, be neither torment, nor evill, but that our fancie only gives it that qualitie, it is in us to change it: and having the choice of it, if none compell us, we are very fooles, to bandy for that partie, which is irkesome unto us: and to give infirmities, indigence, and contempt, a sharpe and ill taste, if we may give them a good: And if fortune simply affoord us the matter, it lieth in us to give it the forme. Now that [that] which we terme evill, is not so of it selfe, or at least, such as it is, that it depends of us to give it another taste, and another countenance (for all comes to one) let us see whether it can be maintained. If the originall being of those things

Opinions and things

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Ideas of death

we feare, had the credit of it's owne authoritie to lodge it selfe in us, alike and semblable would it lodge in all: For men be all of one kind, and except the most or least, they are furnished with like meanes to judge, and instruments to conceive. But the diversitie of opinions, which we have of those things, doth evidently shew, that but by composition they never enter into us. Some one peradventure doth lodge them in himselfe, as they are in essence, but a thousand others give them a new being, and a contrarie. We accompt of death, of povertie, and of sorrow, as of our chiefest parts. Now death, which some of all horrible things call the most horrible, who knowes not, how others call it, the only haven of this lives-torments? the soveraigne good of nature? the only staie of our libertie? and the ready and common receit of our evils? And as some doe fearefully-trembling, and senslesly-affrighted, expect her comming, others endure it more easily than life: And one complaineth of her facilitie:

Mors utinam pavidos vitæ subducere nolles,
Sed virtus te sola daret!—LUCAN. iv. 580.

O death! I would thou would'st let cowards live,
That resolv'd valour might thee only give!

But let us leave these glorious minds: *Theodorus* answered *Lysimachus*, who threatned to kill him: *Thou shalt doe a great exploit to come to the strength of a Cantharides.* The greatest number of Philosophers are found to have either by designe prevented, or hastned and furthered their

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deaths. How many popular persons are seen brought unto death, and not to a simple death, but entermixt with shame, and sometimes with grievous torments, to embrace it with such an undaunted assurance; some through stubborne wilfulnesse, other some through a naturall simplicitie, in whom is nothing seene changed from their ordinarie condition; setling their domesticall affaires, recommending themselves unto their friends, preaching, singing, and entertaining the people: yea, and sometimes uttering words of jesting and laughter, and drinking to their acquaintance, as well as *Socrates?* One who was led to the gallowes, desired it might not be thorow such a street, for feare a Merchant should set a Serjant on his backe, for an old debt. Another wished the hang-man not to touch his throat, lest hee should make him swowne with laughing, because he was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him he should sup that night with our Saviour in heaven, Goe thither your selfe to supper, for I use to fast a nights. Another upon the Gibbet calling for drinke, and the hang-man drinking first, said, hee would not drinke after him, for feare hee should take the pox of him. Everie man hath heard the tale of the Piccard, who being upon the ladder ready to be throwen downe, there was a wench presented unto him, with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate) that if hee would marrie her, his life should be saved, who after he had a while beheld her, and per-

Fantasies of the condemned

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Vogue la galère!

ceiving that she halted, said hastily, *Away, away, good hang-man, make an end of thy busines, she limps.* The like is reported of a man in *Denmarke*, who being adjudged to have his head cut off, and being upon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it, because the wench offered him was jaw-falne, long cheekt, and sharpe-nosed. A young lad at *Tholous*, being accused of heresie, in all points touching his beleefe, referred himselfe wholly to his Masters faith, (a young scholar that was in prison with him) and rather chose to die, than hee would be perswaded his Master could erre. We reade of those of the Towne of *Arras*, at what time King *Lewis* the eleventh tooke it, that amongst the common people many were found, who rather than they would say, *God save the King*, suffered themselves to be hanged. And of those base-minded jesters or buffons, some have beene seene, that even at the point of death, would never leave their jesting and scoffing. He whom the heads-man threw off from the Gallowes, cried out, Row the Gally, which was his ordinarie by-word. Another, who being at his last gaspe, his friends had laid him upon a pallet alongst the fire-side, there to breathe his last, the Physitian demanding where his griefe pained him? answered, betweene the bench and the fire: And the Priest to give him the last unction, seeking for his feet, which by reason of his sickenesse were shrunken up, he told him, My good friend you shal finde them at my legges ends, if you looke well. To an-

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other that exhorted him to recommend himselfe to God, he asked, who is going to him? And the fellow answering, your selfe shortly: If it be his good pleasure, I would to God it might be to morrow night, replied he: Recommend but your selfe to him, said the other, and you shall quickly be there: It is best then, answered he, that my selfe carry mine owne commendations to him. In the kingdome of *Narsinga*, even at this day their Priests wives are buried alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, not only constantly, but cheerfully. When their King dieth, his wives, his concubines, his minions, together with al his officers and servants, which make a whole people, present themselves so merrily unto the fire, wherein his body is burned, that they manifestly seeme to esteeme it as a great honour, to accompanie their deceased master to his ashes. During our last warres of *Millaine*, and so many takings, losses, miseries, and calamities of that Citie, the people impatient of so many changes of fortune, tooke such a resolution unto death, that I have heard my father say, he kept accompt of five and twentie chiefe housholders, that in one weeke made them-selves away: An accident which hath some affinitie with that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by *Brutus*, did pell-mell-headlong, men, women, and children precipitate them-selves into so furious a desire of death, that nothing can be performed to avoid death, which these did not accomplish to avoid

Suicidal mania

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Persecution of the Jews

life: So that *Brutus* had much adoe, to save a verie small number of them. Every opinion is of sufficient power to take hold of a man in respect of life. The first Article of that couragious oath, which the Countrie of *Greece* did sweare, and keepe, in the Median warre, was, that every particular man should rather change his life unto death, than the Persian lawes for theirs. What a world of people are daily seene in the Turkish warres, and the Grœcians, more willing to embrace a sharpe, a bitter, and violent death, than to be uncircumcized and baptized? An example whereof no religion is incapable. The Kings of *Castile* having banished the Jewes out of their Countrie, King *John* of *Portugall* for eight crownes a man, sold them a retreit in his dominion, for a certaine time, upon condition (the time expired) they should avoid, and he find them ships to transport them into *Affrike*. The day of their departure come, which past, it was expressed, that such as had not obeyed, should for ever remaine bondslaves; ships were provided them, but very scarce and sparingly: And those which were imbarked, were so rudely, churlishly, and villainously used, by the passengers and marriners; who besides infinite other indignites, loitred so long on the seas, now forward, now backward, that in the end, they had consumed all their victuals, and were forced, if they would keepe themselves alive, to purchase some of them, at so excessive a rate, and so long, that they were never set a shore, till they had brought them so bare,

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that they had nothing left them but their shirts. The newes of this barbarous inhumanitie being reported to those that were yet on land, most of them resolved to yeeld and continue bond-slaves: whereof some made a semblance to change their religion. *Emanuel* that immediately succeeded John, being come to the Crowne, first set them at libertie, then changing his minde, commanded them to depart out of his dominions, and for their passages assigned them three ports. He hoped, as Bishop *Osorius* reporteth, (a Latine Historian of our ages, not to be despised) that the favor of the libertie, to which he had restored them, having failed to convert them unto Christianitie, the difficultie to commit themselves unto marriners and pyrates robberies, to leave a Countrie where they were setled with great riches, for to goe seeke unknowen and strange regions, would bring them into *Portugall* againe. But seeing all his hopes frustrate, and that they purposed to passe away, hee cut off two of the three ports he had promised them, that so the tedious distance and incommoditie of the passage might retaine some, or rather that he might have the meane to assemble them all together in one place, for a fitter opportunitie of the execution he intended, which was this. Hee appointed that all their children under fourteene yeares of age, should be taken from out the hands of their parents, and removed from their sight and conversation, to some place where they might be brought up, and instructed in our religion. He saith that this effect caused in Portugal

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Constancy of the Albigenses

an horrible spectacle: The naturall affection betweene the fathers and the children; moreover the zeale unto their ancient faith, striving against this violent ordinance. Divers fathers and mothers were ordinarily seene to kill themselves, and with a more cruell example through compassion and love, to throw their young children into pitts and wells, thereby to shun the Law. The terme which he had prefixed them being expired, for want of other meanes, they yeelded unto thraldome. Some became Christians, from whose faith and race, even at this day (for it is an hundred yeares since) few Portugalls assure themselves; although custome, and length of time be much more forcible counsellors unto such mutations, than any other compulsion. In the Towne of *Castelnaw Darry*, more than fifty *Albigeois*, all heretikes, at one time, with a determined courage, suffred themselves to be burned alive, all in one same fire, before they would recant and disavow their opinions. *Quoties non modò ductores nostri, sed universi etiam exercitus, ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt?* (Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* i.). *How often have, not only our Leader* (saith *Tully*) *but also our whole armies run roundly together to an undoubted death?* I have seene one of my familiar friends runne furiously on death, with such, and so deepely in his heart rooted affection, by divers visages of discourse, which I could never suppresse in him, and to the first that offered it selfe masked with a lustre of honour, without apprehending any sharpe or violent end, therein

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to precipitate himselfe. We have many examples in our daies, yea in very children, of such as for feare of some slight incommoditie have yeelded unto death. And to this purpose saith an ancient Writer, what shall we not feare, if we feare that, which cowardise it selfe hath chosen for her retrait? Heere to huddle up a long bead-rowle of those of all sexes, conditions, sects, in most happy ages, which either have expected death most constantly, or sought for it voluntarily, and not only sought to avoid the evils of this life, but some, only to shun the sacietie of living any longer: and some, for the hope of a better condition elsewhere, I should never have done. The number is so infinite, that verily it would be an easier matter for me to reckon up those that have feared the same. Only this more. *Pirro* the Philosopher, finding himselfe upon a very tempestuous day in a boat, shewed them whom he perceived to be most affrighted through feare, and encouraged them by the example of an hog, that was amongst them, and seemed to take no care at all for the storme: Shall wee then dare to say, that the advantage of reason, whereat we seeme so much to rejoyce, and for whose respect we account our selves Lords and Emperours of all other creatures, hath beene infused into us for our torment? *What availeth the knowledge of things, if through them we become more demisse?* If thereby wee lose the rest and tranquillitie wherein we should be without them? and if it makes us of worse condition than was *Pirrhos*

The hog of Pyrrho

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Feigned contempt of pain

hog? Shall we employ the intelligence, heaven hath bestowed upon us for our greatest good, to our ruine? repugning natures desseigne and the universall order and vicissitude of things, which implieth that every man should use his instruments and meanes for his owne commoditie? Wel (will some tell me) let your rule fit you against death; but what will you say of indigence and necessitie? what will you also say of minde-grieving sorrow, which *Aristippus*, *Hieronymus*, and most of the wisest have judged the last evill? and those which denied the same in words, confessed the same in effect? *Possidonius* being extremely tormented with a sharpe and painfull sicknesse, *Pompey* came to see him, and excused himselfe he had chosen so unfit an houre to heare him discourse of Philosophy: *God forbid* (answered *Possidonius*) *that ever paine should so farre usurpe upon me, as to hinder me from discoursing of so worthy a subject.* And thereupon began to speake of the contempt of paine. But there whilst she plaied her part, and uncessantly pinched and urged him; gainst whom hee exclaimed: *Paine, doe what thou list, I shall never be drawne to say, that thou art an evill.* That saying, which they would make of such consequence, what doth it inferre against the contempt of paine? it contends but for the word. And if the pangs thereof move him not there-whilst, why breakes he off his discourse for it? Why thinks he to worke a great exploit, not to call it an evill? All doth not consist in imagination. Heere we judge of the

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rest. It is assured learning that here doth play her part, our owne senses are Judges of it.

The stripes of a whip hurt

Qui nisi sunt veri; ratio quoque falsa sit omnis.
—Lucr. iv. 487.

Which senses if they be not true,
All reason's false, it must ensue.

Shall we make our skin beleeve, the stripes of a whip doe tickle it? and perswade our taste, that Aloes be wine of Graves? *Pirrhos* hog is here in our predicament. He is nothing danted at death, but if you beat him, he will grunt, crie and torment himselfe. Shall wee force the generall law of nature, which in all living creatures under heaven is seene to tremble at paine? The very trees seeme to groane at offences. Death is but felt by discourse, because it is the motion of an instant.

Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est præsentis in illa.

Death hath come, or it will not misse;
But in nothing present is.

Morsque minus pœna, quàm mora mortis habet.
—Ovid. *Epis. Ariad.* 82.

Deaths pain 's lesse, roundly acted,
Than when death is protracted.

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead than threatned. Besides, what wee principally call feare in death, it is paine her customarie fore-runner. Neverthelesse if we must give credit to an ancient father, *Malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem. Nothing, but what follows death, makes death to*

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Pain diminished through patience

be evill. And I might more truly say, that neither that which goeth before, nor that which commeth after, is no appurtenance of death, we falsely excuse our selves. And I find by experience, that it is rather the impatience of the imagination of death, that makes us impatient of the paine, and that we feele it two-fold grievous, forasmuch as it threats us to die. But reason accusing our weaknesse, to feare so sudden a thing, so unavoidable, so insensible; we take this other more excusable pretence. All evils that have no other danger, but of the evill, we count them dangerlesse. The tooth-ach, the paine of the gowt, how grievous soever, because they kill not, who reckoneth them in the number of maladies? Well, suppose that in death wee especially regard the paine: As also povertie hath nothing to be feared for, but what she casteth upon us through famine, thirst, cold, heat, and other miseries, it makes us feele and endure. So have we nothing to doe but with paine. I will willingly grant them, that it is the worst accident of our being. For, I am the man that hate and shun it as much as possible may be; because hitherto (thanks be unto God) I have no commerce or dealing with her: But it is in our power, if not to dissanull, at least to diminish the same, through patience: And though the body should be moved thereat, yet to keepe the minde and reason in good temper. And if it were not so, who then hath brought vertue, valour, force, magnanimitie, and resolution into credit? Where shall they play their

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part, if there be no more paine defied? *Avida est periculi virtus* (SEN. *Quar. Von.* cap. iv.), *Vertue is desirous of danger.* If a man must not lie on the hard ground, armed at all assaies, to endure the heat of the scorching Sunne, to feed hungerly upon a horse, or an asse, to see himselfe mangled and cut in peeces, to have a bullet pluckt out of his bones, to suffer incisions, his flesh to be stitcht up, cauterized, and searched, all incident to a martiall man; how shall we purchase the advantage and preheminence, which we so greedily seek after, over the vulgar sort? It is far from avoiding the evill and paines of it, as wise men say, that of actions equally good, one should most be wished to be done, wherein is most paine and griefe. *Non enim hilaritate nec lascivia nec risu aut joco comite levitatis, sed sæpe etiam tristes firmitate et constantia sunt beati* (CIC. *De Fin.* ii.). *For men are not happy by mirthfulnesse, or wantonnesse, or laughing, or jesting, which is the companion of lightnesse; but often, even those that are sorrowfull, through their strong heart and constancie.* And therefore was it impossible to perswade our fathers, that conquests atchieved by maine-force, in the hazard of warre, were not more available and advantageous, than those obtained in all securitie by practices and stratagems.

The honour of danger

Lætius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum.
—LUCA. ix. 404.

Honesty makes chiefest cheare,
When it doth cost it selfe most deare.

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The end of pain soon comes

Moreover, this ought to comfort us, that naturally, if paine be violent, it is also short; if long, it is easie: *Si gravis, brevis; si longus, levis* (Cic. *De Fin.* ii. Epic.). *If it be grievous, it is short; if it be long, it is light.* Thou shalt not feele it over long; if thou feele it over much, it will either end it selfe, or end thee: All comes to one: If thou beare not it, it will beare thee away. *Memineris maximos morte finiri, parvos multa habere intervalla requietis; mediocrium nos esse dominos: ut si tolerabiles sint, feramus: sin minus, è vita, quum ea non placeat, tanquàm è theatro exeamus* (i.). *Remember the greatest are ended with death, the lesser have many pauses of rest; we are masters of the meane ones: so as if they be tolerable, we may beare them; if not, we may make an Exit from our life which doth not please, as from a stage.* That which makes us endure paine with such impatience, is, that we are not accustomed to take our chiefe contentment in the soule, and that we doe not sufficiently rely on her; who is the only, and soveraigne mistris of our condition. The body hath (except the least or most) but one course, and one byase. The soule is variable in all manner of formes, and rangeth to her selfe, and to her estate, whatsoever it be, the senses of the body, and all other accidents. Therefore must she be studied, enquired, and sought-after: and her powerfull springs and wards should be rowzed up. There is neither reason, nor prescription, nor force can availe against her inclination and choise. Of so infinit

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byases, that she hath in her disposition, let us allow her one sutable and fit to our rest and preservation: Then shall we not only be sheltered from all offence, but if it please her, also gratified and flattered of all grievances and evils. She indifferently makes profit of all; even errours and dreames, doe profitably bestead her, as a loyall matter, to bring us unto safetie and contentment. It may easily be seen, that the point of our spirit, is that which sharpneth both paine and pleasure in us. Beasts wanting the same, leave their free and naturall senses unto their bodies: and by consequence, single well-nigh in every kind, as they shew by the semblable application of their movings. If in our members we did not trouble the jurisdiction, which in that belongs unto them; it may be thought, we should be the better for it, and that nature hath given them a just and moderate temperature toward pleasure and toward paine. And it cannot chuse but be good and just, being equall and common. But since we have freed and alienated our selves from her rules, to abandon our selves unto the vagabond libertie of our fantasies: let us at least help to bend them to the most agreeing side. *Plato* feareth our sharp engaging unto paine and voluptuousnesse, forsomuch as he over-strictly tieth and bindeth the soule unto the body: I am rather opposit unto him, because it is sundred and loosed from it. Even as an enemie becommeth more furious when we flie from him, so doth paine grow more proud if it see us tremble under it. It will stoope and yeeld

Attitude towards pleasure and pain

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Resistance to pain

upon better compositions to him that shall make head against it. A man must oppose and bandy against it. In recoyling and giving ground, we call and draw on, the ruine threatning us. Even as the body is more steady and strong to a charge, if it stand stiffely to it, so is the soule. But let us come to examples properly belonging unto weak-backt men, as I am, where we shall find, that it is with paine, as with stones, which take either a higher or deeper colour, according to the foyle that is laid under them, and holdeth no other place in us than we give it. *Tantum doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inseruerunt* (AUGUST.). *So much they grieved, as they interessed themselves in griefes.* We feele a dash of a chirurgions razor more than ten blows with a sword in the heat of fight. The painfull throwes of childbearing, deemed both by Physitians, and by the word of God to be verie great, and which our women passe with so many ceremonies, there are whole Nations that make no reckoning of them. I omit to speake of the *Lacedemonian* women; but come we to the *Swizzers* of our Infanterie, what change doe you perceive in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carrie the child about their necke, which but yesterday they bare in their wombe. And those counterfeit roguing Gyptians, whereof so many are daily seene amongst us, doe they not wash their children so soone as they are borne? and in the next River that comes to hand? Besides so many harlots,

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which daily steale their children in the delivery as in the conception. The beauteous and noble Lady of *Sabinus*, a Roman Patritian, for the interest of others, did alone, without any bodies helpe or assistance, and without noise or groning endure the bearing and deliverie of two twins. A simple lad of *Lacedemon*, having stolne a Fox (for they more feared the shame of their foolishnesse in stealing, than we feare the paine or punishment of mis-deeds) and hiding the same under his cloake, endured rather to have his guts gnawne out by her, than to discover himselfe. Another who offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered his flesh to burne to the bone by a coale falne into his sleeve, rather than he would trouble that sacred mysterie. And a great number have beene seene, for the only essay of vertue, following their institution, that at the age of seven yeares, without so much as changing their countenance, have indured to be whipped to death. And *Cicero* hath seene whole troups, to beat one another so long with their fists, with their feet, and with their teeth, till they have fainted and fallen downe halfe dead, before ever they would confesse to be overcome. *Nunquam naturam mos vinceret, est enim ea semper invicta, sed nos umbris, delitiis, otio, languore, desidia, animum infecimus: opinionibus maloque more delinitum mollivimus* (Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* v.). *Custome should never overcome nature, for she is still invincible: but we have infected our minde with shadowes, daintinesse, idlenesse, faint-heartednesse, slothfulnesse, and have effemi-*

The boys of Sparta

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Strength under torture

nated it, inveagled with opinions and evill custome. Every man knows the story of *Scevola*, who being entred the enemies campe, with a full resolution to kill their Chieftaine, and having missed of his purpose, to checke his effect with a stranger invention, and to cleare his country, confessed unto *Prosenna*, (who was the King he intended to kill) not only his dessigne, but added moreover, that in his campe there were a great many Romanes, who had undertaken and sworne the verie same enterprise, and were confederates with him. And to make shew of his dread-lesse magnanimitie, having caused a pan of burning coales to be brought, he saw and suffred his right arme (in penance that it had not effected his project) to be parched and wel-nigh rosted-off: untill such time as his enemie himselfe, feeling a kind of remorce-full horror, commanded the fire to be caried away. What shall we say of him, that would not vouchsafe to leave, or so much as to interrupt the reading of his booke, whil'st he had an incision made into him? And of him who resolved to skoffe and laugh, even in spight and contempt of the tortures which were inflicted upon him, so that the raging crueltie of the hangmen, that held him, and all the inventions of torments that could be devised, being redoubled upon him, one in the necke of another, gave him over? But he was a Philosopher. What? of one of *Cæsars* gladiators, who with a cheerefull and smiling countenance endured his wounds to be slit and

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sounded? *Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? Quis vultum mutavit unquam? Quis non modò stetit, verùm etiam decubuit turpiter? Quis cùm decubuisset, ferrum recipere jussus, collum contraxit?* (Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* ii.). *What meane Fencer hath once groned? Which of them hath once changed his countenance? Which of them not only hath stood up, but even falne with shame? Which of them when he was downe, and was willed to take his death, did once shrinke in his necke?* But let us joyne some women unto them. Who hath not heard of her at *Paris*, which only to get a fresher hew of a new skin, endured to have her face flead all over? There are some, who being sound, and in perfit health, have had some teeth puld-out, thereby to frame a daintier and more pleasing voyce, or to set them in better order. How many examples of contempt of paine or smart have we of that kind and sex? What can they not doe? What will they not doe? What feare they to doe? So they may but hope for some amendment of their beautie? **Pain endured for beauty's sake**

> *Vellere queis cura est albos à stirpe capillos,*
> *Et faciem dempta pelle referre novam.*
> —Tibul. i. *El.* viii. 43.
>
> Who take great care to root out their gray haire.
> And skin flead-off a new face to repaire.

I have seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the-nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour.

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Tight-lacing

To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones, and other such trash, that their very skin, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones; Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death. It is common to divers nations of our times, to hurt and gash themselves in good earnest, to give credit to their words. And our King reporteth sundrie examples, of what himselfe saw in *Polonia*, and towards himselfe. But besides what I know to have by some beene imitated in *France*; when I came from the famous Parliament of *Blois*; I had a little before seene a wench in *Picardie* to witnes the vehemencie of her promises, and also her constancie, with the bodkin she wore in her haire, to give her selfe foure or five thrusts in her arme, which made her skin to crack and gush out bloud. The *Turkes* are wont to wound and scarre themselves for their Ladies sakes, and that the marke may the better appeare, and continue the longer, they will presently lay fire upon the cuttes; and to stanch the bloud, and better to forme the cicatrice, they wil keepe it on, an incredible while. Honest men that have seene it, have written the same, and sworne it unto me. And for ten Aspers you shall daily finde some amongst them, that will give themselves a deepe gash with a Scimitarie, either in their armes or thighes. I am very glad

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witnesses are so ready at hand, where we have most need of them: For, Christendome affordeth many. And after the example of our holy guide, there have beene divers, who for devotion would needs beare the crosse. We learne by a worthy testimonie of religion, that Saint *Lewes* the King wore a haire-shirt, untill such time as he was so aged, that his confessor gave him a dispensation for it; and that every friday he caused his priests to beat his shoulders with five little yron-chaines, which to that purpose were ever caried with his nightgeare. *William* our last Duke of *Guienne*, father to that *Eleonore*, who transferred that Dutchy unto the houses of *France* and *England*, the last ten or twelve yeares of his life, for penance-sake wore continually a corselet, under a religious habit. *Foulkes* Earle of Anjou went to Jerusalem, there with a rope about his necke, to be whipped by two of his servants, before our Saviours sepulchre. Doe we not upon every good-friday, in sundrie places, see a great number of men and women, scourge and beat themselves so long, till they bruse and teare their flesh, even to the bones? I have often seene it my selfe, and that without enchantment; And some say (for they are masked) there were some amongst them, who for monie would undertake thereby to warrant other mens religion, by a contempt of smart-full paine, so much the greater, by how much the stings of devotion are of more force, than those of covetousnes. *Q. Maximus* buried his son who had beene Consull: *Marcus Cato* his, being elected

Religious penance

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Loss of children

Pretor; and *L. Paulus* both his, within few daies, with so cheerefull and setled a countenance, and without any shew of sorrow. I have sometimes by way of jesting told one, that he had confronted divine justice: For, the violent death of three tall children of his, comming unto his eares all upon one day, and sent him, as it may be imagined, as a great scourge: he was so farre from mourning, that he rather tooke it as a favour and singular gratification at Gods hand. I doe not follow these monstrous humors. Yet have I lost two or three my selfe, whilst they were young and at nurce, if not without apprehension of sorrow; yet without continuance of griefe. And *there is no accident woundeth men deeper, or goeth so neere the heart, as the losse of children.* I see divers other common occasions of affliction, which were I assailed by them, I should scarcely feele. And I have contemned and neglected some, when it hath pleased God to visit me with them, on which the world setteth so ugly and balefull a countenance, that I hardly dare boast of them without blushing. *Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, sed in opinione esse ægretudinem* (Cic. *ib.* iii.). *Whereby it is understood, that griefe consisteth not in nature, but opinion.* Opinion is a power-full, bould, and unmeasurable party. Who doth ever so greedily search after rest-full ease and quietnes, as *Alexander* and *Cæsar* have done after difficulties and unquietnesse? *Terez*, the father of *Sitalcez*, was wont to say, *that when he had no warres, hee thought there was no difference betweene him and*

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his horse-keeper. *Cato* the Consull, to assure himselfe of certaine townes in *Spaine*, having only interdicted some of their inhabitants to weare armes, many of them killed themselves: *Ferox gens nullam vitam rati sine armis esse. A fierce kinde of people, that thought there was no life without armes.* How many know wee who have abandoned and forsaken the pleasure of an ease-full and quiet life in their houses, and to live with their friends and acquaintance; to follow the toyling-horror of unfrequented deserts, and that yeelded and cast themselves unto the abjectnesse, contempt and vilifying of the world, wherwith they have so pleased themselves, as nothing more; Cardinall *Boromeus*, who died lately at *Milane*, in the midst of the pleasures and debawches to which his Nobilitie, and the great riches he possessed, enticed him, and the ayre of *Italy* afforded him, and his youth allured him, did ever keep himselfe in so an austere forme of life, that the same gowne which served him in Summer he wore in winter. He never lay but upon straw; the houres which he might conveniently spare from his charge; he bestowed in continual study, ever kneeling, and having a smal quantitie of bread and water by his bookes side, which was all the provision for his repast, and time he employed in study. I know some who wittingly have drawne both profit and preferment from cuckoldrie, the only name whereof is so yrkesome and bail-ful to so many men. If sight be not the most necessarie of our senses, at least is it the most pleasing: the most plausible

Cardinal Borromeo

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Plenty causeth avarice

and profitable of our members, seeme those that serve to beget us: notwithstanding divers have mortally hated them, only because they were over much amiable, and for their worths-sake have rejected them. So thought he of his eies, that voluntarily put them out. The most common and soundest part of men, holdeth multitude of children to be a signe of great happinesse and comfort; So do I, and many others, the want of them. And when *Thales* was demanded *Wherfore he did not marrie*, he answered, *because he would leave no issue or line of himselfe behinde him.* That our opinion endeareth and increaseth the price of things, it is seene in a great number of them, which we do not regard to esteeme them; but for our use. And we neither consider their qualities nor utilities, but only our cost to recover and attaine them; as if it were a part of their substance; and we call that worth in them, not what they bring us, but what we bring to them. According as it weigheth, and is of consequence, so it serveth. Wherupon I perceive, we are thriftie husbands of what we lay out. Our opinion never suffers it to run a false gallop. *The price giveth a Diamond his title, difficultie to vertue, paine unto devotion, and sharpnesse unto Physicke.* Such a one to come unto povertie, cast those fewe crownes he had into the same sea, wherin so many others, with such carke, danger, and care, on all parts seeke to fish for riches. *Epicurus* saith, *that to be rich is no ease, but a charge of affaires.* Verily, it is not want, but rather plentie that causeth avarice.

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I will speake of mine owne experience, concerning this subject. I have lived in three kinds of condition, since I came out of my infancie. The first time, which continued well-nigh twentie yeares, I have past it over, as one who had no other means but casual, and depending from the direction and helpe of others; without any certaine maintenance, or regular prescription. My expences were so much the more carelessely layed out, and lavishly employed, by how much more they wholy depended on fortunes rashnesse and exhibition. I never lived so well at ease: my fortune was never to finde my friends purse shut: besides which, I was to frame my selfe to all necessities: the care I tooke to pay every man at his prefixed day, which a thousand times they have prolonged, seeing the care I tooke to satisfie them. So that I had gotten unto my selfe the credit of a thriftie kind of good husbandrie, though it were something shifting and deceitful. I do naturally feele a kind of pleasing contentment in paying of my debts, as if I rid my selfe of a burthenous weight, and free my selfe from the yoake of bondage and ingratitude. Besides, me thinks I feele a kinde of delight, that tickleth me to the quick, in performing a lawfully just action, and contenting of others. I except payments that require delayes, covenants, and after reckonings: for, if I finde any body that will undertake them, I blushingly and injuriously deferre them as long as I can, for feare of that altercation or wrangling, to which my humor and manner of speech is altogether incompatible.

Montaigne's three conditions of life: the first

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Montaigne hates driving bargains

There is nothing I hate more than driving of bargaines: It is a meere commerce of dodging and impudencie. After an houres debating and paltring, both parties will goe from their words and oaths for the getting or saving of a shilling: yet did I borrow with great disadvantage. For, having no heart to borrow before others, or by word of mouth, I would adventure it upon a peece of paper, which with some hath no great power to move or force to perswade, and which greatly helps to refuse, I was wont to commit the successe of my wants more freely and more carelessely unto fortune, that I have done since unto my wit and providence. Most good husbands thinke it strange and horrible to live on such uncertainties, but they remember not, that most men in the world live so. How many good and well-borne men have heretofore, and are daily seene to neglect and leave at six and seven, their patrimonies and certaine goods, to follow and seeke after court-holy water, and wavering-favours of Princes and of fortune; *Cæsar* engaged and endebted himselfe above a million of gold, more than he was worth, to become *Cæsar*. And how many merchants and poore beginners, set up and begin their traffike by the sale of their farmes or cottages which they venter to the *Indias?*

Tot per impotentia freta.—CATUL. *Epig.* iv. 18.

In so great scarcitie of devotion, we have thousands of Colleges, which passe the time very conveniently, daily gaping and expecting from

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the liberalitie of the heavens, what they must dine withall to morrow. Secondly; they consider not, that this certaintie on which they ground themselves, is not much lesse uncertaine and hazardous, than hazard it selfe. I see miserie as neere beyond two thousand crownes rent, as if it were hard at hand. For, besides that fortune hath many-many meanes to open a hundred gaps for povertie to enter at, even through the thickest of our riches, and that often there is no meane betweene the highest and lowest fortune.

Every man makes his own fortune

Fortuna vitrea est: tum, quum splendet, frangitur.
—PROV. SENEC. f.

Fortune is glasse-like, brittle as t'is bright:
Light-gon, Light-broken, when it lends best light.

And to turne all our defences, and raisings of high walles topsie-turvie: I find that want and necessitie is by diverse or different causes, as ordinarily seene to accompanie and follow those that are rich in goods, as those that have none at all: and that peradventure it is somewhat lesse incommodious, when it is alone, than when it meeteth with riches: They rather come from order, than from receit: *Faber est suæ quisque fortunæ* (ERAS. *Chil.* ii. cent. iv. eid. 63). *Every man is the forger of his owne fortune.* And me thinkes that a rich man, who is needy, full of businesse, carke and toyle, and troubled in minde, is more miserable, than he that is simply poore. *In divitiis inopes, quod genus egestatis gravissi-*

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Montaigne's three conditions of life: the second

mum est (SEN. *Epist.* lxxiv. p.). *In their abundance indigent, which is the most grievous kinde of indigence.* The richest and greatest princes are ordinarily urged by povertie and need unto extreme necessities. For, can any be more extreme, than thereby to become Tyrants, and unjust usurpers of their subjects goods, My second manner of life hath beene to have monie; which when I had once fingred, according to my condition I sought to hoord up some against a rainie day; esteeming that it was no having, unlesse a man had ever somewhat besides his ordinarie expences in possession: and that a man should not trust that good, which he must live in hope to receive; and that, be his hope never so likely, hee may many wayes be prevented. For, I would say unto my selfe; what if I should be surprised by this chance, or that accident? What should I doe then? And in pursuit of these vaine and vicious imaginations, I endevoured by hooke or crooke, and by wile or wit to provide by this superfluous sparing for all inconveniences that might happen: And I could answer him, that would alleage the number of inconveniences to be over infinit; which if they followed not all men, they accompanied some, and haply the greatest number. An apprehension which I did not passe without some painfull care. I kept the matter secret, and I (that dare say so much of my selfe) would never speake of my money but falsly; as others doe, who being rich, would seeme to be poore, or being poore would appeare rich: and dispence with their

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conscience, never to witnesse sincerely what they are worth. Oh ridiculous and shamefull prudence. Did I travell any where? me thought I was never sufficiently provided; and the more I had laden my selfe with coine, the more I had also burthened my selfe with feare: sometimes of my wayes-safetie, othertimes of their trust that had the charge of my sumpters and baggage, whereof as some others that I know, me thought I was never throughly assured, except it were still in my sight. Left I my keyes or my purse behind me? how many suspitions and thornie imaginations, and which is worse, incommunicable, did uncessantly haunt me? My minde was ever on my halfepenney; my thoughts ever that way. *The summe being rightly cast, there is ever more paine in keeping, than in getting of monie.* If I did not altogether so much as I say, I at the least endevoured to doe it. Of commoditie I had little or nothing. To have more meanes of expences, is ever to have increase of sorrow. For (as *said Bion*) *The hairie man doth grieve as much as the bald, if he have his haire pulled out.* And after you are once accustomed, and have fixed your thoughts upon a heape of monie, it is no longer at your service; you dare not diminish it; it is a building, which if you touch or take any part from it, you will thinke it will all fall. Necessitie must first pinch you by the throat, and touch you neere, before you will lay hands on it. And I should sooner pawne my clothes, or sell my horse, with lesse care and compulsion, than make a breach into that beloved purse, which I

Increase of desire brings increase of sorrow

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'Every monied man is covetous'

kept in store. But the danger was, that a man can hardly prefix any certaine limits unto his desire (they are hard to be found in things a man deemeth good) and continue at one stay in sparing: A man shall ever encrease this heape, and augment it from one number to another; yea so long, till he basely and niggardly deprive himselfe of the enjoying of his owne goods, and wholy fix it on the safe-keeping of them, and never use them. According to this kind of usage, those are the richest people of the world, that have the charge of keeping the gates and walles of a rich Cittie. Every monied man is covetous, according to mine opinion. *Plato* marshalleth [thus] humane or corporall goods; *health, beautie, strength, riches: And riches,* (saith he,) *are not blind, but cleere-seeing, if they be illuminated by wisdome. Dionysius* the younger, plaid a notable part; who being advertised, that one of his *Siracusans*, had hidden a certaine treasure, under the ground, commanded him to bring it unto him, which he did, reserving secretly one part of it unto himselfe, with which hee removed his dwelling unto another Citie, where having lost the humor of hoarding up of treasure, began to live a spending and riotous kinde of life: which *Dionysius* hearing, commanded the remainder of his treasure, and which he had taken from him, to be restored unto him; saying, *That sithence he had learned how to make use of it, hee did most willingly redeliver the same unto him.* I was some yeares of the same humour: I wot not what good *Demon* did most profitably remove

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me from it, like to the *Siracusan*, and made me to neglect my sparing. The pleasure I apprehended of a farre and chargeable journey, having overthrowne this foolish imagination in me; From which I am falne into a third kinde of life (I speake what I thinke of it) assuredly much more pleasing and formall: which is, that I measure my garment according to my cloth, and let my expences goe together with my comming in; sometimes the one, other-whilst the other exceeds: But they are never farre a sunder. I live from hand to mouth, from day to day, and have I but to supply my present and ordinarie needs, I am satisfied: As for extraordinarie wants, all the provisions of the world will not suffice them. And it is folly to expect that fortune will ever sufficiently arme us against her selfe. It is with our owne weapons that we must combat her. Casuall armes will betray us, when we shall have most need of them. If I lay up anything, it is for the hope of some imployment at hand, and not to purchase lands, whereof I have no need, but pleasure and delight. *Non esse cupidum, pecuniæ est: non esse emacem, vectigal est* (Cic. *Parad. ult.*). *It is currant coine, not to be covetous: it is a thriftie income, not to be still buying.* I am neither possessed with feare, that my goods shall faile me, nor with desire they should encrease and multiply. *Divitiarum fructus est in copia: Copiam declarat satietas* (*Ibid.*). *The fruit of riches is in plentie: sacietie content with enough, approves that plentie.* And I singularly gratifie my selfe this correction came upon

Montaigne's three conditions of life: the third

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A fine contempt of riches

me in an age naturally enclined to covetousnesse, and that I am free from that folly so common and peculiar to old men, and the most ridiculous of all humane follies. *Feraulez* who had passed through both fortunes, and found, that encrease of goods, was no accrease of appetite, to drinke, to eat, to sleepe, or to embrace his wife; and who on the other side felt heavily on his shoulders, the importunitie of ordering and directing his Oeconomicall affaires, as it doth on mine, determine with himselfe to content a poore young man, his faithfull friend, greedily gaping after riches, and frankly made him a present donation of all his great and excessive riches; as also of those, he was likely everie day to get by the liberalitie and bountie of his good master *Cyrus*, and by warre: alwayes provided, hee should undertake to entertaine and finde him honestly, and in good sort, as his guest and friend. In which estate they lived afterward most happily, and mutually content with the change of their condition.

Loe heare a part, I could willingly find in my heart to imitate. And I much commend the fortune of an old prelate, whom I see, to have so clearely given over his purse, his receits, and his expences, now to one of his chosen servants, and now to another, that he hath lived many yeares as ignorant of his houshold affaires, as any stranger. The confidence in others honesty, is no light testimonie of ones owne integritie: therefore doth God willingly favour it. And for his regard, I see no houshold order, neither more worthily directed, nor more constantly managed than his.

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Happy is that man, that hath so proportionably directed his estate, as his riches may discharge and supply the same, without care or encombrance to himselfe; and that neither their consultation or meetings may in any sort interrupt other affaires, or disturbe other occupations, which he followeth, more convenient, more quiet, and better agreeing with his heart. Therefore doth ease and indigencie depend from every mans owne opinion; and wealth and riches no more than glorie or health, have either more preheminence or pleasure, than he who possesseth them, lendeth them. Every man is either well or ill, according as he findes himselfe. Not he whom another thinkes content, but he is content indeed, that thinkes he is so himselfe: And only in that, opinion giveth it selfe essence and veritie. Fortune doth us neither good nor ill: She only offereth us the seed and matter of it, which our minde, more powerfull than she, turneth and applieth as best it pleaseth: as the efficient cause and mistris of condition, whether happy or unhappy. Externall accessions take both savor and colour from the internall constitution: As garments doe not warme us by their heat, but by ours, which they are fit to cover and nourish: he that with clothes should cover a cold body, should draw the very same service from them by cold. So is snow and yce kept in summer. Verily as unto an idle and lazie body, study is but a torment; abstinence from wine to a drunkard, is a vexation; frugalitie is a harts sorrow to the luxurious; and exercise molesteth an effeminate body: so is it

The thought of content produces it

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'Be master of your self'

of all things else. Things are not of themselves so irksome, nor so hard, but our basenes, and weaknesse maketh them such. To judge of high and great matters, a high and great minde is required; otherwise we attribute that vice unto them, which indeed is ours. A straight oare being under water seemeth to be crooked. It is no matter to see a thing, but the matter is how a man doth see the same. Well, of so many discourses, which diversly perswade men to contemne death, and patiently to endure paine, why shall we not finde some one to make for our purpose; And of so severall and many kinds of imaginations, that have perswaded the same unto others why doth not every man apply one unto himselfe, that is most agreeing with his humor; If he cannot digest a strong and abstersive drug, for to remove his evill, let him at least take a lenitive pill to ease the same. *Opinio est quædam effœminata ac levis: nec in dolore magis, quam eadem in voluptate: quâ, quum liquescimus fluimusque mollitia, apis aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus. Totum in eo est, ut tibi imperes* (Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* ii.). *There is a certaine effeminate and light opinion, and that no more in sorrow, than it is in pleasure, whereby when we melt and run over in daintie tendernes, we cannot abide to be stung of a Bee, but most rore and crie out. This is the totall summe of all, that you be master of your selfe.* Moreover, a man doth not escape from Philosophy, by making the sharpnes of paines, and humane weaknesse to prevaile so far beyond measur: for, she is compelled to cast her selfe

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over againe unto these invincible replications, If it be bad to live in necessitie, at least there is no necessitie, to live in necessitie. No man is long time ill, but by his owne fault. He that hath not the heart to endure neither life nor death, and that will neither resist nor run away, what shall a man doe to him?

Love of fame the most universal folly

CHAP. XLI

That a man should not communicate his glorie

OF all the follies of the world, the most universall, and of most men received, is the care of reputation, and study of glorie, to which weare so wedded, that we neglect, and cast-off riches, friends, repose, life and health (goods effectuall and substantiall) to follow that vaine image, and idlie-simple voice, which hath neither body, nor hold-fast.

La fama, ch'inuaghisce à un dolce suono
Gli superbi mortali, et par si bella,
E un echo, un sogno, anzi d'un sogno un ombra,
Ch'ad ogni vento si dilegua e sgombra.—TASS. *Gior.* can. 14.

Fame that enveagl's high aspiring men
With her harmonious sound, and seemes so faire,
An Eccho is, a dreame, dreames shadow rather,
Which flies and fleets as any winde doth gather.

And of mens unreasonable humors, it seemeth, that the best philosophers doe most slowly, and more unwillingly cleare themselves of this, than of another: it is the most peevish, the most forward, and the most opinative. *Quia etiam bene*

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The sharing of reputation is rare

proficientes animos tentare non cessat (Cic. *Pro Arc. Po.*). *Because it ceaseth not to tempt even those Mindes that profit best.* There are not many whereof reason doth so evidently condemne vanitie, but it is so deeply rooted in us, as I wot not whether any man could ever clearely discharge himselfe of it. When you have alleaged all the reasons you can, and beleeved all to disavow and reject her, she produceth contrarie to your discourses, so intestine inclination, that you have small hold against her. For (as *Cicero* saith,) *Even those that oppugne her, will neverthelesse have the bookes they write against her, to beare their names upon their fronts, endevoring to make themselves glorious by despising of glorie.* All other things fall within the compasse of commerce: we lend our goods, we employ our lives, if our friends stand in need of us: But seldome shall we see a man communicate his honour, share his reputation, and impart his glorie unto others. *Catulus Luctatius* in the warres against the Cymbres, having done the utmost of his endevours to stay his souldiers that fled before their enemies, put himselfe amongst the run-awaies, and dissembled to bee a coward, that so they might rather seeme to follow their Captaine, than flie from the enemie: This was a neglecting and leaving off his reputation, to conceale the shame and reproach of other. When *Charles* the fifth passed into *Provence*, the yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie seven, some are of opinion, that *Anthony de Leva*, seeing the Emperor his master reso-

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lutely obstinate to undertake that voyage, and deeming it wonderfully glorious, maintained nevertheless the contrarie, and discounselled him from it, to the end all the honour and glorie of this counsell might be attributed unto his Master; and that it might be said, his good advice and fore-sight to have beene such, that contrarie to all mens opinions, he had atchieved so glorious an enterprise: Which was, to honour and magnifie him at his owne charges. The Thracian Ambassadors comforting *Achileonida* the Mother of *Brasidas*, for the death of her son, and highly extolling and commending him, said, he had not left his equall behind him. She refused this private commendation, and particular praise, assigning it to the publike state. *Doe not tell me that* (quoth she,) *For I knowe the Cittie of* Sparta *hath many greater, and more valiant Citizens than he was.* At the battell of *Crecy*, *Edward* the blacke Prince of *Wales*, being yet very young, had the leading of the vant-gard: The greatest and chiefe violence of the fight, was in his quarter: The Lords and Captains that accompanied him, perceiving the great danger, sent unto King *Edward* the Princes father, to come and help them: which when he heard, he enquired what plight his sonne was in, and how he did, and hearing that he was living, and on horse-backe; *I should* (quoth he) *offer him great wrong to goe now, and deprive him of the honour of this combats victorie, which he already hath so long sustained; what danger soever there be in it, it shall wholy be his:* and would neither

The generosity of Archileonida

Further instances of generosity

goe nor send unto him: knowing, that if he had gone, or sent, it would have beene said, that without his ayd all had beene lost, and that the advantage of this exploit would have beene ascribed unto him. *Semper enim quod postremum adjectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse. For, evermore that which was last added, seemes to have drawne on the whole matter.* In *Rome* many thought, and it was commonly spoken, that the chiefest glorious deeds of *Scipio*, were partly due unto *Lælius*, who notwithstanding did ever advance the greatnesse, further the glorie, and second the renowne of *Scipio*, without any respect of his owne. And *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, to one who told him that the commonwealth should subsist and continue still, forsomuch as he could command so well: *No*, said he, *it is rather, because the people know so well how to obey.* As the women that succeeded in the Peeredomes of *France*, had (notwithstanding their sex) right to assist, and privilege to plead in cases appertaining to the jurisdictions of Peeres: So the Ecclesiasticall Peeres, notwithstanding their profession and function, were bound to assist our Kings in their warres, not only with their friends, servants, and tenants, but in their owne person. The Bishop of *Beauvais*, being with *Philip Augustus* in the battell of *Bovines*, did very couragiously take part with him in the effect; but thought hee should not be partaker of the fruit and glorie of that bloudy and violent exercise. He overcame, and forced that day many of the enemies to yeeld whom he delivered unto

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the first gentleman hee met withall, to rifle, to take them prisoners, or at their pleasure to dispose of them. Which he also did with *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, whom he delivered unto the Lord *John* of *Nesle*. With a semblable subtletie of conscience, unto this other. He desired to fell and strike downe a man, but not to wound or hurt him: and therefore never fought but with a great club. A man in my time being accused to the King, to have laid violent hands upon a Priest, denied it very stoutly, forsomuch as he had only thumped and trampled him with his feet. Subtlety of conscience

CHAP. XLII

Of the inequalitie that is betweene us

PLUTARKE saith in some place, *That he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie betweene man and man.* He speaketh of the sufficiencie of the minde, and of internall qualities. Verily I finde *Epaminondas* so farre (taking him as I suppose him) from some that I know (I meane capable of common sense) as I could finde in my heart to endeare upon *Plutarke*; and say there is more difference betweene such and such a man, than there is diversitie betweene such a man, and such a beast.

Hem vir viro quid præstat!—TER. *Phor.* act v. sc. 3.

O Sir, how much hath one,
Another man out-gone?

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A horse is esteemed for its qualities,

And that there be so many degrees of spirits, as there are steps betweene heaven and earth, and as innumerable. But concerning the estimation of men, it is marvell, that except our selves, no one thing is esteemed but for i'ts proper qualities. We commend a horse, because he is strong and nimble,

—volucrem
Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
Fervet, et exultat rauco victoria circo.
—Juven. *Sat.* viii. 57.

We praise the horse, that beares most bells with flying,
And triumphs most in races, hoarse with crying,

and not for his furniture: a grey-hound for his swiftnesse, not for his coller: a hawke for her wing, not for her cranes or bells. Why do we not likewise esteeme a man for that which is his owne? He hath a goodly traine of men following him, a stately pallace to dwell in, so great credit amongst men; and so much rent comming in: Alas, all that is about him, and not in him. No man will buy a pig in a poke. If you cheapen a horse, you will take his saddle and clothes from him, you will see him bare and abroad: or if he be covered as in old times they wont to present them unto Princes to be sold, it is only his least necessarie parts, lest you should ammuse your selfe to consider his colour, or breadth of his crupper; but chiefly to view his legs, his head, his eyes, and his foot, which are the most remarkable parts, and above all to be considered and required in him,

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Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, apertos
Inspiciunt, ne si facies, ut sæpe, decora
Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
Quod pulchræ clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
—Ho. i. *Sat.* ii. 86.

and a man should be similarly judged

This is Kings manner, when they horses buy,
They see them bare, lest if, as oft we try,
Faire face have soft hoofes, gull'd the buyer be,
They buttockes round, short head, high crest may see.

When you will esteeme a man, why should you survey him all wrapt, and envelloped? He then but sheweth us those parts which are no whit his owne: and hideth those from us, by which alone his worth is to be judged. It is the goodnesse of the sword you seeke after, and not the worth of the scabbard; for which peradventure you would not give a farthing, if it want his lyning. A man should be judged by himselfe, and not by his complements. And as an Ancient saith very pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you esteeme him tall? You account the height of his pattens: The Base is no part of his stature: Measure him without his stilts. Let him lay aside his riches and externall honours, and shew himselfe in his shirt. Hath he a body proper to his functions, sound and cheerefull? What minde hath he? Is it faire, capable and unpolluted, and happily provided with all her necessarie parts? Is shee rich of her owne, or of others goods? Hath fortune nothing of hers to survay therein? If broadwaking she wil looke upon a naked sword: If shee care not which way her life goeth from her,

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The ideal man a kingdom in himself

whether by the mouth, or by the throat; whether it be setled, equable, and contented: It is that a man must see and consider, and thereby judge the extreme differences that are betweene us: Is he

—sapiens, sibique imperiosus,
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, et in se ipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per læve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna?
—ii. *Sat.* vii. 83.

A wise man, of himselfe commander high,
Whom want, nor death, nor bands can terrifie,
Resol'd t' affront desires, honors to scorne,
All in himselfe, close, round, and neatly-borne,
As nothing outward on his smooth can stay,
Gainst whom still fortune makes a lame assay.

Such a man is five hundred degrees beyond kingdomes and principalities: Himselfe is a kingdome unto himselfe.

Sapiens pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi.
—Plau. *Trin.* act ii. sc. 2.

Trust me, who beares a wise mans name,
His fortune to himselfe may frame.

What is there else for him to wish for?

—nónne videmus
Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut quoi
Corpore sejunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur,
Jucundo sensu cura semotus metuque?—Lucr. ii. 16.

See we not nature nothing else doth barke
Unto her-selfe, but he, whose bodies barke
Is free from paines-touch, should his minde enjoy,
Remo'd from care and feare, with sense of joy?

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Compare the vulgar troupes of our men unto him, stupide, base, servile, wavering, and continually floting on the tempestuous Ocean of divers passions, which tosse and retosse the same, wholy depending of others: There is more difference, than is betweene heaven and earth, and yet such is the blindnesse of our custome, that we make little or no account of it. Whereas, if we consider a Cottager and a King, a noble and a handy-crafts man, a magistrate and a private man, a rich man and a poore; an extreme disparitie doth immediatly present it selfe unto our eies, which, as a man may say, differ in nothing, but in their clothes. In *Thrace*, the King was after a pleasant manner distinguished from his people, and which was much endeared: He had a religion apart: a God severall unto himselfe, whom his subjects might no waies adore: It was *Mercurie:* And he disdained their gods, which were *Mars*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana;* yet are they but pictures, which make no essential dissemblance. For, as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke, but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition: Even so the Emperor, whose glorious pomp doth so dazle you in publike; The philosophy of clothes

Scilicet et grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi
Auro includuntur, teriturque Thalassina vestis
Assidue, et Veneris sudorem exercita potat.
—Lucr. iv. 1137.

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The cares of royalty

Great emerald's with their grasse-greene-light in gold
Are clos'd, nor long can marriage linnen hold,
But worne with use and heat
of Venerie drink's the sweat.

View him behinde the curtaine, and you see but an ordinarie man, and peradventure more vile, and more seely, than the least of his subjects. *Ille beatus introrsum est; istius bracteata felicitas est* (SEN. *Epist.* CXV.). *One is inwardly happy; anothers felicitie is plated and guilt-over.* Cowardise, irresolution, ambition, spight, anger, and envie, move and worke in him as in another:

Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor, miseros tumultus
Mentis et curas laqueata circum
—Tecta [volantes]: —HOR. ii. *Od.* xvi. 9.

Nor treasures, nor Maires officers remove
The miserable tumults of the minde,
Or cares that lie about, or flie above
Their high-roof't houses with huge beames combinde,

And feare, and care, and suspect, haunt and follow him, even in the middest of his armed troupes.

Re veraque metus hominum, curæque sequaces,
Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,
Audacterque inter reges, rerumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.
—LUCR. ii. 46.

Indeed mens still-attending cares and feare,
Nor armor's clashing, nor fierce weapons feare,
With Kings converse they boldly, and Kings peeres,
Fearing no lightning that from gold appeares.

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Doth the ague, the megrim, or the gout spare him more than us? When age shall once seize on his shoulders, can then the tall yeomen of his guard discharge him of it? When the terror of ruthles-balefull death shall assaile him, can he be comforted by the assistance of the gentlemen of his chamber? If he chance to be jealous or capricious, will our lowting-curtzies, or putting-off of hatts, bring him in tune againe? His bedstead enchased all with gold and pearles hath no vertue to allay the pinching pangues of the cholicke. A king's blood is but human

Nec calida citius decedunt corpore febres,
Textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
Jacteris, quàm si plebeia in veste cubandum est.
—Id *ib.* 34.

Feavers no sooner from thy body flie
If thou on arras or red scarlet lie
Tossing, than if thou rest
On coverlets home-drest.

The flatterers of *Alexander* the great, made him beleeve, that he was the sonne of *Jupiter;* but being one day sore-hurt, and seeing the bloud gush out of his wounds: *And what thinke you of this?* (said he unto them) *Is not this bloud of a lively red hew, and meerly humane?* Me thinkes, it is not of that temper, which *Homer* faineth to trill from the gods wounds. *Hermodorus* the Poet made certaine verses in honour of *Antigonus*, in which he called him the sonne of *Phœbus;* to whom he replied; *My friend, He that emptieth my close-stoole knoweth well, there is no such matter.* He is but a man

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Capacity to enjoy, not wealth, makes us happy

at all assaies: And if of himselfe he be a man ill borne, the Empire of the whole world cannot restore him.

—puellæ
Hunc rapiant, quicquid calcaverit, hic rosa fiat.
—Pers. *Sat.* ii. 37.

Wenches must ravish him, what ever he
Shall tread upon, eftsoones a rose must be.

What of that? If he be of a grose, stupide, and senseles minde: voluptuousnesse and good fortune it selfe, are not perceived without vigor, wit, and livelinesse.

Hæc perinde sunt, ut illius animus qui ea possidet,
Qui uti scit, ei bona, illi qui non utitur rectè, mala.
—Ter. *Heaut.* act i. sc. ii. 21.

These things are such, as the possessors minde,
Good, if well us'd; if ill, them ill we finde.

Whatsoever the goods of fortune are, a man must have a proper sense to savour them: It is the enjoying, and not the possessing of them, that makes us happy.

Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri,
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas, valeat possessor oportet,
Qui comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit, aut metuit, juvat illum sic domus aut res,
Ut lippum pictæ tabulæ, fomenta podagram.
—Hor. i. *Ep.* ii. 47.

Not house and land, and heapes of coine and gold
Rid agues, which their sicke Lords body hold,
Or cares from minde: th' owner must be in health,
That well doth thinke to use his hoarded wealth.
Him that desires or feares, house, goods, delight,
As foments doe the gout, pictures sore-sight.

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He is a foole, his taste is wallowish and distracted, he enjoyeth it [no] more, than one that hath a great cold doth the sweetnesse of Greeke wine, or a horse the riches of a costly-faire furniture, wherewith he is trapped. Even as *Plato* saith, *That health, beautie, strength, riches, and all things else he calleth good, are equally as ill to the unjust, as good to the just; and the evill contrariwise.* And then, where the body and the soule are in ill plight, what need these externall commodities? Seeing the least pricke of a needle, and passion of the mind is able to deprive us of the pleasure of the worlds Monarchy. The first fit of an ague, or the first gird that the gout gives him, what availes his goodly titles of Majesty? **What avail the titles of majesty?**

> *Totus et argento conflatus, totus et auro.*
> —Tibul. i. *El.* vii. 71
> All made of silver fine,
> All gold pure from the mine.

doth he not forthwith lose the remembrance of his pallaces and states? If he be angrie or vexed, can his principalitie keepe him from blushing, from growing pale, from gnashing his teeth like a Bedlam? Now if it be a man of worth, and well borne, his royaltie, and his glorious titles will adde but little unto his good fortune.

> *Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil*
> *Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.*
> —Hor. i. *Ep.* xii. 5.
> If it be well with belly, feet, and sides,
> A Kings estate no greater good provides.

He seeth they are but illusions, and vaine deceits. He may haply be of King *Seleucus* his

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It is easier to follow, than to lead

advice: *That he who fore-knew the weight of a scepter, should he finde it lying on the ground, he would not daigne to take it up.* This he said, by reason of the weightie, irksome and painefull charges, that are incident unto a good King. Truely, it is no small matter to governe others, since so many crosses and difficulties offer themselves, if we will governe our selves well. Touching commanding of others, which in shew seemeth to be so sweet, considering the imbecillitie of mans judgement, and the difficultie of choice in new and doubtful things. I am confidently of this opinion, that it is much more easie and plausible to follow, than to guide: and that it is a great setling of the minde, to be tied but to one beaten-path, and to answer but for himselfe.

Ut satiùs multo jam sit, parere quietum,
Quàm regere imperio res velle.—Luc. v. 1137.

Much better t'is, in quiet to obey,
Than to desire with Kings-power all to sway

Seeing *Cyrus* said, *That it belongs not to a man to command, that is not of more worth, than those whom he commandeth.* But King *Hieron* in *Xenophon* addeth moreover, *That in truely-enjoying of carnall sensualities, they are of much worse condition, than private men; forasmuch as ease and facilitie, depriveth them of that sowre-sweet tickling, which we finde in them.*

Pinguis amor nimiumque potens, in tædia nobis
Vertitur, et stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet.
—Ovid. *Am.* ii. *El.* xix. 25.

Fat over-powerfull love doth loathsome grow,
As fulsome sweet-meats stomackes overthrow.

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Thinke wee, that high-minded men take great pleasure in musicke? The satietie thereof makes it rather tedious unto them. Feasts, banquets, revels, dancings, masks and turneys, rejoyce them that but seldome see them, and that have much desired to see them: the taste of which becommeth cloysome and unpleasing to those that daily see, and ordinarily have them: Nor doe Ladies tickle those, that at pleasure and without suspect may be glutted with them. He that cannot stay till he be thirsty, can take no pleasure in drinking. Enterludes and commedies rejoyce and make us merry, but to players they are tedious and tastelesse. Which to prove, we see, it is a delight for Princes, and a recreation for them, sometimes to disguise themselves, and to take upon them a base and popular kinde of life. **Evils of satiety**

Plerumque gratæ principibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ sine aulæis et ostro,
Solicitam explicuere frontem.—Hor. iii. *Od.* xxix. 13.

Princes doe commonly like enterchange,
And cleanely meales where poore-men poorely house,
Without all tapistrie or carpets strange,
Unwrinkled have their care-knit, thought-bent browes.

Nothing doth sooner breed a distaste or satietie, than plentie. What longing lust would not bee alaid, to see three hundred women at his dispose and pleasure, as hath the Grand *Turke* in his Seraille? And what a desire and shew of hawking had he reserved to himselfe from his

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The fierce light that

ancestors, that never went abroad without seven thousand falkners at least? Besides which, I thinke, the luster of greatnesse, brings no small incommodities to the enjoying of sweeter pleasures: they lie too open, and are too much in sight. And I wot not why a man should longer desire them to conceale or hide their fault: For, what in us is indiscretion, the people judgeth to be tyrannie, contempt, and disdaine of the lawes in them: And [be]sides the ready inclination unto vice, it seemeth they also adde unto it the pleasure of gourmandizing, and to prostrate publike observances under their feet. Verily *Plato* in his Gorgias, *defineth him to be a tyrant, that in a Citie hath leave and power to doe what ever he list.* And therefore often, the shew and publication of their vice hurteth more than the sinne it selfe. Every man feareth to be spied and controlled; which they are even in their countenances and thoughts: All the people esteeming to have right and interest to judge of them. And we see that blemishes grow either lesser or bigger, according to the eminence, and light of the place, where they are set, and that a mole or a wart in ones forehead is more apparently perceived, than a scarre in another place. And that is the reason why Poets faine *Jupiters* loves to have beene affected under other countenances, than his owne; And of so many amorous-shifts, and love practises, they impute to him, there is but one (as farre as I remember) where he is to be seene in his greatnesse and majestie. But returne we to *Hieron:* he also relateth, how many

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incommodities he findeth in his royaltie, being so barred, that he cannot at his libertie travell to goe whether he pleaseth, being as it were a prisoner within the limits of his country; and that in all his actions he is encircled and hemd-in with an importunate and tedious multitude. Truely, to see our Princes all alone, sitting at their meat, beleagred round with so many talkers, whisperers, and gazing beholders, unknowne what they are or whence they come, I have often rather pittied than envied them. King *Alphonsus* was wont to say, *that burthen-bearing asses were in that, in farre better condition than Kings; for, their masters suffer them to feed at their ease, whereas Kings cannot obtaine that privilege of their servants.* And it could never fall into my minde, that it might be any speciall commoditie to the life of a man of understanding, to have a score of find-faults, picke-thanks, and controlers about his close-stoole, nor that the service of a man, that hath a thousand pound rent a yeare, or that hath taken *Casal*, or defended *Sienna*, is more commodious or acceptable to him, than that of a sufficient, and well-experienced groome. Princelike advantages, are in a manner but imaginarie preheminences. Every degree of fortune, hath some image of Principalitie. *Cæsar* termeth all the Lords, which in his time had justice in *France*, to be Kinglets, or pettie Kings. And truly, except the name of *Sire*, we goe very farre with our Kings. Looke but in the Provinces remote and farre from the court: As for example, in *Britanie*, the attend-

beats upon a throne

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Provincial independence

ing traine, the flocking subjects, the number of officers, the many affaires, the diligent service, the obsequious ceremonies of a Lord, that liveth retired, and in his owne house, brought up amongst his owne servants, tenants, and followers: And note also the high pitch of his imaginations, and humours, there is no greater royaltie can be seene: He heareth no more talke of his master, than of the *Persian* King, and haply but once a yeare: And knowes but some farre-fetcht, and old kindred or pedigree, which his Secretarie findes or keepes upon some ancient record or evidence. Verily our lawes are very free, and the burthen of soveraigntie, doth scarsly concerne a gentleman of *France* twice in his whole life. Essentiall and effectuall subjection amongst us doth not respect any, but such as allure themselves unto it, and that affect to honour, and love to enrich themselves by such service: For he that can shrowd and retire himselfe in his owne home, and can manage and direct his house without sutes in law, or quarrell with his neighbours, or domesticall encombrances, is as free as the Duke of *Venice*. *Paucos servitus, plures servitutem tenent* (SEN. *Epist.* 22). *Service holds few, but many hold service.* But above all things *Hieron* seemeth to complaine, that he perceiveth himselfe deprived of all mutuall friendship, reciprocall societie, and familiar conversation, wherein consisteth the most perfect and sweetest fruit of humane life. For, what undoubted testimonie of affection and good will, can I expect or exact from him, that will

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he, or nill he, oweth me all he hath, all he can? Can I make account of his humble speech, of his low-lowting curtzie, or of his curteous offers, since it lieth not in his power to refuse them me? The honour we receive of those which feare and stand in awe of us, is no true honour. Such respects are rather due to royaltie, to majesty, than to me.

Bad and good kings served alike

—maximum hoc regni bonum est,
Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
Quàm ferre, tam laudare.—SEN. *Thyest.* act ii. sc. 1.

This is chiefe good of Princes domination,
Subjects are forc't their sov'raignes actes and fashions
To beare with patience, passe with commendations.

Doe I not see, that both the bad and the good King are served alike? That hee who is hated, and he that is beloved are both courted alike? And the one as much fawned upon as the other? My predecessor was served with the same apparances, and waited upon with the like ceremonies, and so shall my successor be. If my subjects offend me not, it is no testimonie of any good affection. Wherfore shall I take it in that sense, sithence they cannot, if they would? No man followeth me for any friendship that is betweene him and me: inasmuch as no firme friendship can be contracted, where is so small relation, so slender correspondencie, and such disparitie. My high degree hath excluded me from the commerce of men. There is too great an inequalitie, and distant disproportion. They follow for countenance, and of custome, or rather my

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The trees and melons of Diocletian

fortune than my selfe: hoping thereby to encrease theirs. Whatsoever they say, all they doe unto me, is but a glosse, and but dissimulation, their libertie being every where brideled, and checked by the great power I have over them. I see nothing about me, but inscrutable hearts, hollow mindes, fained lookes, dissembled speeches, and counterfeit actions. His Courtiers one day commended *Julian* the Emperour for ministring of right, and doing of justice; *I should easily grow proud* (saith he) *for these praises, if they came from such as durst either accuse or discommend my contrary actions, should I commit any.* All the true commodities that Princes have, are common unto them with men of meane fortune. It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrosia. They have no other sleepe, nor no other appetite than ours. Their steele is of no better temper, than that wherewith we arme our selves. Their crowne, their diadem can neither hide them from the Sun, or shelter them from the raine. *Dioclesian* that wore one, so much reverenced, and so fortunate, did voluntarily resigne the same, to withdraw himselfe unto the pleasure of a private life; but a while after, the urgent necessitie of publike affaires requiring his presence, and that he should returne to re-assume his charge againe, he answered those that solicited him unto it; you would never undertake to perswade me to that, had you but seene the goodly rankes of trees, which my selfe have planted in mine Orchard, or the faire muske-melons, I have set in my garden. According to *Anacharsis* his

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opinion, *The happiest estate of a well ordered common-wealth should be, where all other things being equally common, precedencie should be measured, and preferments suted according to vertue and desert, and the contrarie according to vice.* At what time King *Pirrhus* undertooke to passe into *Italy*, *Cyneas* his wise and trustie counsellor, going about to make him perceive the vanitie of his ambition, one day bespake him thus. *My good Sir*, (said he) *To what end doe you prepare for so great an enterprise?* He answered suddenly, *To make my selfe Lord of Italie. That done, what will you doe then?* (replied *Cyneas*) *I will then passe* (said *Pirrhus*) *into* Gaule, *and then into* Spaine: *And what afterwards? I will then invade Affrike, and subdue the same, and at last, when I shall have brought all the world under my subjection, I will then take my rest, and live contented at mine ease. Now, for Gods sake Sir*, (replied *Cyneas*) *Tell me, what hinders you, that you be not now, if so you please, in that estate? Wherefore doe you not now place your selfe, where you meane to aspire, and save so much danger, so many hazards, and so great troubles as you enterpose betweene both?*

The counsel of Cyneas to Pyrrhus

Nimirum quia non bene norat quæ esset habendi
Finis, et omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas.
—Lucr. v. 1443.

The cause forsooth, he knew not what should be the end
Of having, nor how far true pleasure should extend.

I will conclude and shut up this treatise with

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Kings should set the an ancient verse, which I singularly applaud, and deeme fit to this purpose.

Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam.
—Cic. *Parad.* v. Cor. Nep.

Ev'ry mans manners and his mind,
His fortune to him frame and find.

Chap. XLIII

Of sumptuarie Lawes, or Lawes for moderating of expences

THE manner wherewith our Lawes assay to moderate the foolish and vaine expences of table-cheare and apparell, seemeth contrarie to it's end. The best course were to beget in men a contempt of gold and silk-wearing, as of vaine and unprofitable things, whereas we encrease their credit and price: A most indirect course to withdraw men from them. As for example, to let none but Princes eat dainties, or weare velvets, and clothes of Tissew, and interdict the people to doe it, what is it but to give reputation unto those things, and to encrease their longing to use them? Let Kings boldly quit those badges of honour; They have many other besides: Such excesse is more excusable in other men, than in Princes. We may, by the examples of divers Nations, learne sundrie better fashions to distinguish our selves and our degrees (which truly I esteeme requisit in an estate,) without nourishing

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to that purpose, this so manifest corruption and apparant inconvenience. It is strange how custome in these indifferent things doth easily encroch and suddenly establish the footing of her authoritie. We had scarce worne cloth one whole yeare at the Court, what time we mourned for our King *Henrie* the second, but certainly in every mans opinion, all manner of silks were already become so vile and abject, that was any man seene to weare them, he was presently judged to be some countrie fellow, or mechanicall man. They were left only for Chyrurgians and Physitians. And albeit most men were apparreled alike, yet were there other sufficient apparant distinctions of mens qualities. How soone doe plaine chamoy-jerkins, and greasie canvase doublets creepe into fashion and credit amongst our souldiers, if they lie in the field? And the garishnesse, neatnesse, and riches of silken garments grow in contempt and scorne? Let Kings first begin to leave these superfluous expences, we shall all follow, and within a moneth, without edicts, ordinances, proclamations, and acts of Parliament, it will be observed as a law. The statutes should speake contrarie, as thus. That no man or woman, of what qualitie soever, shall, upon paine of great forfeitures, weare any maner of silke, of skarlet, or any gold-smiths worke, except only Enterlude-players, Harlots, and Curtizans. With such an invention did *Zeleucus* whilome correct the corrupted manners of the *Locrines*. His ordinances were such. Be it enacted, that no woman of

example of economy

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Court fashions

free condition, shall have any more than one maid-servant to follow her when she goeth abroad, except when she shall be drunken; And further, that she may not goe out of the Citie by night, nor weare any jewels of gold, or precious stones about her, nor any gowne beset with gold-smiths worke, or imbroiderie, except she be a publike-professed whore: and moreover, that except panders and bawds, it shall not be lawfull for any man to weare any gold-rings on his fingers, nor any rich garments, as are such of cloth made in the Citie of *Miletum*. So did he by these reprochfull exceptions ingeniously drive his Citizens from vaine superfluities, and pernicious dainties. It was a most profitable course, by honour and ambition to allure men unto their dutie and obedience. Our Kings have the power to addresse all these externall reformations. Their inclination serveth them as a law. *Quicquid Principes faciunt, præcipere videntur. Whatsoever Princes doe, that, they seeme to command.* The rest of *France* takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes;) And for a gentleman

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to come to any place of respect, without his rapier by his side, all unbraced, all untrust, as if he came from his close-stoole: And that, against our forefathers manner, and the particular libertie of our *French* nobilitie, we should stand bare-headed, aloofe-off from them, wheresoever they be, and as about them, about many others: So many petty-kings, and petty-petty-kinglets have we now adayes: And so of others like new-fangled and vicious introductions: They shall soone be seene to vanish and be left. Although but superficiall faults, yet are they of evill presages. And we are warned, that the foundation or maine summers of our houses faile and shrinke, when we see the quarters bend, or wals to breake. *Plato* in his Lawes, thinkes there is no worse plague, or more pernicious in his Citie, than to suffer youth, to have the reines of libertie in her owne hand, to change in their attires, in their gestures, dances, exercises, and songs, from one forme to another: And to remove their judgement, now to this, now to that place; following new-fangled devices, and regarding their inventors: By which, old customes are corrupted, and ancient institutions despised. In all things, except the wicked, mutation is to be feared; yea, even the alteration of seasons, of winds, of livings, and of humours. And no lawes are in perfect credit, but those to which God hath given some ancient continuance: So that no man know their of-spring, nor that ever they were other than they are.

Fear change in all things

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CHAP. XLIV

Of Sleeping

Hard sleepers

REASON doth appoint us ever to walke in one path, but not alwaies to keepe one [pace]: And that a wise man should not permit humane passions to stray from the right carrier; he may (without prejudice unto his dutie) also leave it unto them either to hasten or to slow his pace, and not place himselfe as an immoveable and impassible *Colossus*. Were vertue herselfe corporeall and incarnate, I think her pulse would beat and worke stronger, marching to an assault, than going to dinner: For, it is necessarie that she heat and move herselfe. I have therefore mark't it as a rare thing, to see great personages sometimes, even in their weightiest enterprises, and most important affaires, hold themselves so resolutely-assured in their state, that they doe not so much as breake their sleepe for them. *Alexander* the great, on the day appointed for that furious-bloudy battel against *Darius*, slept so soundly and so long that morning, that *Parmenion* was faine to enter his chamber, and approching neere unto his bed, twice or thrice to call him by his name, to awaken him, the houre of the battle being at hand, and urging him. *Otho* the Emperour having determined to kill himselfe; the very same night, after he had given order for his domestical affaires, shared his monie among his servants, and whetted the edge of a sword, wherewith he intended to wound

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himselfe, expecting no other thing, but to know whether all his friends were gone to rest, fell into so sound a sleepe, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort in another roome. This Emperours death hath many parts semblable unto that of great *Cato*, and namely this: For, *Cato* being prepared to defeat himselfe, whilest he expected to heare newes, whether the Senators, whom he caused to retire, were lanched out from the haven of *Utica*, fell so fast asleep, that he was heard to snort into the next chamber: And he whom he had sent toward the port, having awaked him, to tell him, the storme was so rough, that the Senators could not conveniently put out to sea, he sent another, and lying downe a new, fell asleep againe, untill the last messenger assured him, they were gone. We may also compare him unto *Alexander*, in that great and dangerous storme, which threatned him, by the sedition of *Metellus* the Tribune, who laboured to publish the decree of *Pompeys* re-appeall into the Citie, together with his army, at what time the commotion of *Catiline* was on foot: against which decree only *Cato* did insist, and to that purpose had *Metellus* and he had many injurious speeches, and menaced one another in the Senate-house: And it was the next day, they were like to come to the execution in the market-place, where *Metellus*, besides the favour of the common people, and of *Cæsar*, then conspiring and complotting for the advancement of *Pompey*, should come, accompanied with a multitude of strange and forraine slaves and fencers, to doe their utmost: And *Cato*

Cato's sleep

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Cato's constancy

strengthened with his only constancie, and with an unmated resolve: So that his kinsmen, his familiars, and many honest men tooke great care, and were in heavy anxietie and pensivenesse for him: of which many never left him all night, but sate up together, without rest, eating, or drinking, by reason of the danger they saw prepared for him; yea, his wife and sisters did nought but weep and waile, and for his sake torment themselves in their house, whereas contrariwise he alone comforted every body, and blamed them, for their demissenesse: And after he had supped, (as he was wont) he went quietly to his bed, and slept very soundly untill the next morning, that one of his copartners in the Tribuneship, came to call him, to goe to the skirmish. The knowledge we have of this mans unmated-haughty heart, by the rest of his life; may make us judge with all securitie, that it only proceeded from a spirit, so far elevated above such accidents, that he dained not so much as to trouble his minde with them, no more than with ordinarie chances. In the sea-fight, which *Augustus* gained against *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicilie*, even at the instant he should goe to fight, was surprised with so heavy a sleep, that his friends were compelled to awaken him, to give the signall of the battell; which afterward gave occasion unto *Marcus Antonius*, to charge him with this imputation, that he had not dared with open eyes to survey the marshalling of his army, and that his heart would not suffice him, to present himselfe unto his souldiers, untill such time that

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Agrippa brought him newes of the victorie he had obtained of his enemies. But concerning young *Marius*, who committed a greater errour (for on the day of his last battell against *Sylla*, after he had marshalled his army, and given the word or signall of the battell) he lay downe in the shadow under a tree, a while to rest himselfe, and fell so fast asleep, that he could hardly be awaked with the rout and flight of his men, having seene no part of the fight, they say, it was because he was so exceedingly aggravated with travell, and over-tired with wearinesse, and want of sleep, that nature was overcome, and could no longer endure. And touching this point, Phisitians may consider; whether sleep be so necessarie, that our life must needs depend of it: For we finde that *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, prisoner at *Rome*, being kept from sleep, was made to die; but *Plinie* aleageth, that some have lived a long time without any sleep at all. And *Herodotus* reporteth, *There are Nations, where men sleep and wake by halfe yeares.* And those that write the life of *Epimenides* the wise, affirme, *that he slept the continuall space of seven and fifty yeares.* The need of sleep

Chap. XLV

Of the battell of Dreux

THERE hapned divers rare accidents, and remarkable chances in our battell of *Dreux:* but those who doe not greatly favour the reputa-

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The evil of side issues

tion of the Duke of *Guise*, doe boldly aleage, that he cannot be excused, to have made a stand, and temporised with the forces he commanded, whilst the Lord Constable of *France*, Generall of the Armie, was engaged and suppressed with the enemies Artillerie, and that it had beene better for him, to hazard himselfe, to charge the enemie flankwise, than by expecting any advantage, to have him come behind him, to suffer so reprochfull an overthrow, and so shamefull a losse. But omitting what the event thereof witnessed, he that shall without passion debate the matter, shall easily (in my conceit) confesse, that the ayme and drift, not onely of a Captaine, but of every particular Souldier, ought chiefly to respect a victory in great: And that no particular occurrences, of what consequence soever, or what interest may depend on them, should never divert him from that point. *Philopœmen* in an encounter with *Machanidas*, having sent before, a strong troupe of Archers, and good marke men, to begin the skirmish: and the enemie, after he had put them to rout and disranked them, ammusing himselfe in mainly pursuing them, and following the victory alongst the maine battell, where *Philopœmen* was, although his souldiers were much moved and offended to see their fellowes put to the worst, he could not be induced to bouge from his place, nor make head against his enemie, to succour his men; but rather, having suffered them to be defeated, and cut in peeces before his face, began then to charge his enemies in the battalion of their In-

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fanterie, when he perceived them forsaken of their horsemen: And albeit they were Lacedemonians, forasmuch as he charged them, at what time (supposing to have gained the day) they began to disorder themselves, he easily overcame them; which done, he pursued *Machanidas*. This case, is cousin-german unto that of the Duke of *Guise*. In that sharpe-bloody battell of *Agesilaus* against the Bœotians, which *Xenophon* (who was there present) saith, *To have beene the hottest and rudest, that ever he had seene: Agesilaus* refused the advantage, which fortune presented him, to let the battalion of the Bœotians passe, and to charge them behind, what certaine victorie soever he saw likely to follow the same, esteeming that it were rather skill than valour, and to shew his prowesse, and matchlesse-haughty courage, chose rather to charge them in the front of their forces: But what followed? He was well beaten, and himselfe sore-hurt, and in the end compelled to leave his enterprise, and embrace the resolution, which in the beginning he had refused, causing his men to open themselves, to give passage unto that torrent of the Bœotians; who when they were past through, perceiving them to march in disaray, as they who perswaded themselves to be out of all danger, he pursued them, and charged them flank-wise. All which notwithstanding, he could never put to rout, or force them run-away, for they, orderly, and faire and softly made their retreit, ever shewing their face, untill such time as they got safely into their holds and trenches.

The mistake of Agesilaus

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Chap. XLVI

Of Names

Fatal names

WHAT diversitie soever there be in herbs, all are shuffled up together under the name of a sallade. Even so, upon the consideration of names, I will here huddle up a gallymafry of diverse articles. Every several nation hath some names, which, I wot not how are sometimes taken in ill part, as with us *Jacke*, *Hodge*, *Tom*, *Will*, *Bat*, *Benet*, and so forth. Item, it seemeth that in the genealogies of Princes, there are certaine names fatally affected; as *Ptolemeus* with the *Ægyptians*, *Henries* in *England*, *Charles* in *France*, *Baldwins* in *Flanders*, and *Williams* in our ancient *Aquitanie*, whence some say came the name of *Guienne*; which is but a cold invention: As if in *Plato* himselfe there were not some as harsh and ill-sounding. Item, it is an idle matter, yet neverthelesse, by reason of the strangenesse, worthy the memorie, and recorded by an ocular witnesse, that *Henrie* Duke of *Normandie*, sonne to *Henrie* the second King of *England*, making a great feast in *France*, the assembly of the Nobilitie was so great, that for pastimes sake, being, by the resemblance of their names, divided into severall companies: in the first were found a hundred and ten Knights sitting at one table, and all called *Williams*; besides private Gentlemen and servants. It is as pleasant to

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distribute the tables by the names of the assistants, as it was unto *Geta* the Emperor, who would have all his messes or dishes served in at his table orderly according to the first letters of their names; As for example, those that began with P. as pig, pie, pike, puddings, pouts, porke, pancakes, etc. were all served in together; and so of all the rest. Item, it is a common saying, *That it is good to have a good name:* As much to say, good credit, or good reputation. Yet verely it is very commodious to have a well-sounding and smooth name, and which is easie to be pronounced, and facile to be remembred: For Kings, Princes, Lords, and Magistrates know and remember us the better by them, and will not so soone forget us. Marke but of those that serve and follow us, whether we doe not more ordinarily command, and sooner employ such, whose names come readier to our tongue, or memorie. I have seene our King *Henrie* the second, who could never hit on the right name of a Gentleman of *Gascoigne;* and did ever call a Lady waiting on the Queene, by the generall surname of her house, because that of her father was so harsh, and hard to be remembred. And *Socrates* saith, *It ought to be a fathers speciall care, to give his children good and easie-sounding names.* Item, it is reported, that the foundation of our Lady the great at *Poitiers* had this beginning; A licentious young man having his dwelling-house where the Church now standeth, had one night gotten a wench to lie with him, who so soone as she came to bed, he demanded her

'It is good to have a good name'

The name of Mary

name, who answered, *Marie:* The young man hearing that name, was suddenly so strucken with a motive of religion, and an awefull respect unto that sacred name, of the virgin *Marie*, the blessed mother of our Saviour and Redeemer, that he did not onely presently put her away from him, but reformed all the remainder of his succeeding life: And that in consideration of this miracle, there was first erected a Chappell in the place where this young mans house stood, consecrated unto that holy name, and afterward the faire great Church, which yet continueth. This vocal and auricular correction, and so full of devotion, strucke right unto his soule. This other following, of the same kind, insinuated it selfe by the corporall sences. *Pythagoras* being in companie with two young men, whom he heard complot and consult (being somewhat heated with feasting and drinking) to go and ravish a chast-house, commanded immediatly the minstrels to change their tune; and so by a solemne, grave, severe, and spondaicall kinde of musicke, did sweetly inchaunt, allay, and in-trance their rash, violent, and law-lesse lust. Item, shall not succeeding posteritie say, that our moderne reformation hath beene exact and delicate, to have not only oppugned and resisted errors and vices, and filled the world with devotion, humilitie, obedience, peace, and every other kinde of vertue, but even to have combated their ancient names of baptisme, *Charles*, *Lewis*, *Francis*, to people the world with *Methusalem*, *Ezechiel*, *Malachie*, much better feeling of a lively faith? A Gentleman

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my neighbour, esteeming the commodities of ancient times in regard of our daies, forgot not to aledge the fiercenesse and magnificence of the names of the Nobilitie of those times, as Don *Grumedan*, *Quedragan*, and *Agesilan*: And that, but to heare them sounded, a man might easily perceive, they had beene other manner of men, than *Peter*, *Guillot*, or *Michell*. Item, I commend, and am much beholding to *James Amiot*, in the course of a French oration of his to have still kept the full ancient Latine names, without disguising or changing them, to give them a new French cadence. At the first they seemed somewhat harsh unto the Reader; but now, by reason of the credit, which his *Plutarke* hath deservedly gotten amongst us, custome hath removed all strangenesse from us. I have often wished that those who write histories in Latine, would leave us our names whole, and such as they are: For, altering *Vaudemont*, to *Vallemontanus*, and metamorphosing them, by suting them to the Græcian or Latin tongue, we know not what to make of them, and are often at a non-plus. To conclude my discourse; It is an ill custome, and of exceeding bad consequence in our countrie of *France*, to call every man by the name of his Towne, Mannor, Hamlet, or Lordship, as the thing that doth most confound houses, and bring sur-names out of knowledge. A cadet or yonger-brother of a good house, having had for his appanage a Lordship, by whose name he hath beene knowne and honoured, cannot well forsake and leave the same ten yeares after his death;

Amyot's use of Latin names

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The vanity of titles

His Lord-ship commeth unto a stranger, who doth the like: Ghesse then where we are, and how we shall doe to come to the perfect knowledge of these men. Wee need not goe far for other examples, but looke into our Royall house, where so many partages, so many sur-names, and so many severall titles have so encumbred us, that the originall of the stocke is utterly lost. There is so much libertie in these mutations, that even in my time, I have seene no man nor woman advanced by fortune unto some extraordinarie preferment, that hath not immediatly had adjoyned unto him or her Genealogicall titles, new and unknowne to their fathers, and that hath not beene engraffed into some noble stocke or family. And as good lucke serveth, the basest upstart, and most obscure houses are most apt unto adulteration, and falsification. How many privat Gentlemen have we in *France*, which according to their accompt, and blazoning of their gentrie, are of the royall bloud or race? I beleeve more than others. Was it not pretily said, and with a good grace, by one of my friends? There was a great companie bandied together about a quarell which a Gentleman had with another, who in very truth had some prerogative of titles, honours, and alliances above the common sort of Nobilitie; upon which word of his prerogative, every one seeking to equall himselfe unto him, alleaged, some one of-spring, some another, some the resemblance of his name, some of his armes, othersome an old far-fetcht pedigree, and the meanest of them to be the great grand-child of some King

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beyond the Seas. When they came all to dinner, this man whom hitherto they had all followed, in liew of taking his wonted place, making low-lowting reverences, went to the lowest end of the board, entreating the companie to hold him excused, that through rash-unadvisednesse he had hitherto lived with them companion-like, but now being lately enformed of their right qualities, he began to know them according to their ancient degrees, and that it did not duly belong unto him to sit above so many Princes. And after he had acted his play, he began to raile upon them with a thousand injuries; saying thus unto them. For the love of God content your selves, with what your forefathers have beene contented, and with the state whereto God hath called us: we have sufficient if we can maintaine it well, let us not disparage the fortune and condition of our predecessors; and reject we these fond imaginations, which cannot faile any man, whatsoever he be, that is so impudent as to alleage them. Crests, Armes, and Coats have no more certaintie than surnames. I beare Azure seme of trefoiles, a Lions Paw in fæce, Or, armed Gules. What privilege hath this Coat, that it should for ever continue particularly to my house? A sonne in law will transferre the same into another family: Some silly-upstart purchaser of Armes, will make it his chiefe Coat. There is nothing wherein meet so many alterations, and so much confusion. and of heraldry

But this consideration draweth me perforce unto another field. Let us somewhat narrowly search-into, and for Gods sake consider, on

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What's in a name?

what foundation we ground this glorie and reputation, for which the world is turned topsie-turvie. On what doe we establish this transitorie renowne, which with so great mind-possessing toyle, and industrie we seeke and gape-after? In fine, it is *Peter* or *William*, that beareth the same (marke it well Reader) and to whom it belongeth. Is not hope a couragious facultie, which in a mortall subject, and in a moment, seeks to usurp infinit[i]e, and immensitie, and to replenish his Masters indigence with the possession of all things he can imagine or desire, before it would? Nature hath given us a pleasant joy to play withall in that. Is it *Peter* or *William?* And what is that but a word for al mouths? or three or foure dashes of a pen, first, so easie to be varied, as I would willingly aske those, whom the honor of so many victories concerneth, or whether *Guesquin*, or *Glesquin*, or *Gueaquin?* yet were there more apparence [here], than in *Lucian* that Σ. did sue T. for,

> *—non levia aut ludicra petuntur*
> *Præmia:* —VIRG. *Æn.* xii. 764.
>
> No light prize, no reward in jest
> Is hunted after as the best.

The wager goeth deepe: The question is, which letter must be paid with so many sieges, battels, hurts, emprisonments, and services done unto the Crowne of *France* by her ever renowmed Constable. *Nicholas Denisot* hath had no care but of the letters of his name, and hath changed all the contexture of them, there out

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to frame the Earle of *Alsinois*, whom he hath honored and presented with the glorie of his Poesie and Painting. And *Suetonius* the Historian hath loved but the sense of his owne, and having taken away *Lenis*, which was his fathers surname, hath left *Tranquillus* successor of his compositions reputation. Who would beleeve, Captaine *Bayard* hath no honor, but that which he hath borrowed from the acts of *Peter Terraill?* And that *Antonio Escalin* (even before his eies) suffered Captaine *Poulin*, and the Baron of La *Garde*, to steal so many Navigations, voyages, and attemps, both by sea and land from him? Secondarily, they are dashes, and trickes of the pen, common unto a thousand men. How many are there in all races or families both of one name and surname? And how many in divers families, races, ages, and countries? Historie hath knowne three *Socrates*, five *Platoes*, eight *Aristotles*, seven *Xenophons*, twenty *Demetrius*, twenty *Theodores:* besides which, imagine how many came not to her knowledge. Who letteth my horse boy to call himselfe *Pompey* the great? But after all, what meanes, what devices, are there that annex unto my horse-keeper deceased, or to that other who had his head cut off in *Ægypt*, or that joyne unto them this glorified and far-renowned word, and these pen-dashes so much honoured that they may thereby advantage themselves?

A horse-boy may call himself Pompey the Great

Id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?

—iv. 34.

Thinke you, ghost's buried, ashes dead,
Care much how we alive are sped?

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Epaminondas and Africanus

What feeling motion of revenge have the two companions in chiefe valor amongst men; *Epaminondas* of that glorious verse, which so many ages since is so common in our mouthes for him?

> *Consiliis nostris laus est attrita Laconum.*
> —Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* v.
>
> By our complots the haught renowne,
> Of Spartan Gallants was brought downe.

And *Affricanus* of that other:

> *A sole exoriente, supra Mæotis paludes*
> *Nemo est, qui factis me æquiparare queat?*
> —*Ibid.*
>
> From Sun rise to the Scythian-lake, of fame
> None in exploits can equalize my name.

Those that survive are tickled with the pleasure of these words, and by them solicited with jealousie and desire, doe presently without consideration transmit by fantasie this their proper motion of revenge unto the deceased; and with a fond-deceiving hope perswade themselves, when their turne commeth to be capable of it. God he knowes it, neverthelesse:

> —*ad hæc se*
> *Romanus Graiusque et Barbarus Induperator*
> *Erexit, causas discriminis atque laboris*
> *Inde habuit, tanto major famæ sitis est, quàm*
> *Virtutis.* —Juv. *Sat.* x. 137.
>
> Heerto himselfe the Romane Generall,
> The Græcian, the Barbarian, rouz'd and rais'd;
> Heere hence drew cause of perils, travells all:
> So more, than to be good, thirst to be prais'd.

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Chap. XLVII

Of the uncertaintie of our judgement

IT is even as, that verse saith,

Much to be said on both sides

Ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
Of words on either side,
A large doale they divide.

There is law sufficient to speake every where, both *pro* and *contra;* As for example:

Vince Hannibal, et non seppe usar' poi
Ben la vittoriosa sua ventura.
—Pet. Par. i. son. lxxxvi. 1.

Hanniball conquer'd, but he knew not after
To use well his victorious good fortune.

He that shall take this part, and with our men go about, to make that over-sight prevaile, that we did not lately pursue our fortune at *Montcontour:* Or he that shall accuse the King of *Spaine*, who could not use the advantage he had against us at Saint *Quintin*, may say this fault to have proceeded from a minde drunken with his good fortune, and from a courage fulgorged with the beginning of good lucke; loseth the taste how to encrease it, being already hindred from digesting what he hath conceived of it: He hath his hands full, and cannot take hold any more: Unworthy that ever fortune should cast so great a good into his lap: For, what profit hath he of it, if notwithstanding, he

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A paralysed judgment

give his enemie leasure and meanes to recover himselfe? What hope may one have, that he will once more adventure to charge these reenforced and re-united forces, and new armed with despite and vengeance, that durst not, or knew not how to pursue them being dismaied and put to rout?

> *Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror.*
> —LUCAN. vii. 734.
>
> While fortune is at height in heat,
> And terror worketh all by great.

But to conclude, what can he expect better, than what he hath lately lost? It is not, as at Fence, where the number of venies given, gets the victorie: So long as the enemie is on foot, a man is newly to begin. It is no victorie, except it end the warre. In that conflict where *Cæsar* had the worse, neere the Citie of *Oricum*, he reprochfully said unto *Pompeis* Souldiers, *That he had utterly beene overthrowne, had their Captaine knowne how to conquer: and paid him home after another fashion when it came to his turne.* But why may not a man also hold the contrarie? That it is the effect of an insatiate and rash-headlong minde, not to know how to limit or period his covetousnesse: That it is an abusing of Gods favours, to goe about to make them lose the measure he hath prescribed them, and that a new to cast himselfe into danger after the victorie, is once more to remit the same unto the mercie of fortune: That one of the chiefest policies in militarie profession, is, not to drive

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his enemie unto despaire. *Silla* and *Marius* in the sociall warre, having discomfited the Marsians, seeing one squadron of them yet on foot, which through despaire, like furious beasts were desperately comming upon them, could not be induced to stay or make head against them. If the fervor of Monsieur de *Foix* had not drewne him over rashly and moodily to pursue the straglers of the victorie at *Ravenna*, he had not blemished the same with his untimely death; yet did the fresh-bleeding memorie of his example serve to preserve the Lord of *Anguien* from the like inconvenience, at *Serisoles*. It is dangerous to assaile a man, whom you have bereaved of all other meanes to escape or shift for himselfe, but by his weapons: for, necessitie is a violent school-mistris, and which teacheth strange lessons: *Gravissimi sunt morsus irritatæ necessitatis. No biting so grievous, as that of necessitie provoked and enraged.* 'Necessity is a violent school-mistress'

Vincitur haud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem.
—LUCAN. iv. 278.

For nought you over-come him not,
Who bids his foe come cut his throat.

And that is the reason, why *Pharax* empeached the King of *Lacedæmon*, who came from gaining of a victorie against the Mantinæans, from going to charge a thousand Argians, that were escaped whole from the discomfiture; but rather to let them passe with all libertie, lest he should come to make triall of provoked and despited vertue, through and by ill fortune.

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Richly clad soldiers

Clodomire King of *Aquitaine*, after his victorie, pursuing *Gondemar* King of *Burgundie*, vanquished and running away, forced him to make a stand, and make head againe: but his unadvised wilfulnesse deprived him of the fruit of the victorie, for he dyed in the action. Likewise he that should chuse, whether it were best to keepe his souldiers richly and sumptuously armed, or only for necessitie, should seeme to yeeld in favour of the first, whereof was *Sertorious*, *Philopœmen*, *Brutus*, *Cæsar*, and others, urging that it is ever a spur to honour and glorie, for a souldier to see himselfe gorgiously attired, and richly armed, and an occasion to yeeld himselfe more obstinate to fight, having the care to save his armes, as his goods and inheritance. A reason (saith *Xenophon*) why the Asiatikes carried with them, when they went to warres their wives and Concubines, with all their jewels and chiefest wealth. And might also encline to the other side, which is, that a man should rather remove from his souldier, all care to preserve himselfe, than to encrease it unto him: for, by that meanes he shall doubly feare to hazard or engage himselfe, seeing these rich spoiles do rather encrease an earnest desire of victorie in the enemie: and it hath beene observed, that the said respect hath sometimes wonderfully encouraged the Romans against the Samnites. *Antiochus* shewing the Armie, he prepared against them, gorgeously accoutred with all pompe and statelinesse, unto *Hanniball*, and demanding of him, whether the Romanes would

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be contented with it: yea verily, answered the other, they will be very well pleased with it: They must needs be so, were they never so covetous. *Licurgus* forbad his Souldiers, not onely all manner of sumptuousnesse, in their equipage, but also to uncase or strip their enemies, when they overcame them, willing, as he said, that frugalitie and povertie should shine with the rest of the battell. Both at sieges, and else-where, where occasion brings us neere the enemie, we freely give our souldiers libertie, to brave, to disdaine, and injurie him with all manner of reproaches: And not without apparance of reason; for, it is no small matter, to take from them all hope of grace and composition, in presenting unto them, that there is no way left to expect it, from him, whom they have so egregiously outraged, and that there is no remedy left but from victorie. Yet had *Vitellius* but bad successe in that; for, having to deale with *Otho*, weaker in his Souldiers valour, and of long disaccustomed from warre, and effeminated through the delights and pleasures of the Citie, himselfe in the end set them so on fire with his reproachfull and injurious words, upbrayding them with their pusilanimitie and faint-hartednesse, and with the regret of their Ladies, banquettings and sensualities, which they had left at *Rome*, that he put them into heart againe, which no perswasions or other means could doe before; and thereby drew them, whom nought could have driven, to fight, and fall upon him. And verily, when they are

Effect of taunts

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Captains in battle

injuries that touch a man to the quicke, they shall easily urge him, who was very backward to fight for his Kings quarrel, to be very forward in his owne cause or interest. If a man but consider of what consequence the preservation, and importance, the safetie of a generall is in an Armie, and how the enemies chiefest ayme, is at the fairest marke, which is the head, from which all other depend, it seemeth that that counsell cannot be doubted of, which by sundrie great Chieftaines we have seene put in practice, which is, in the beginning of the fight, or in the fury of the battell, to disguise themselves. Notwithstanding the inconvenience a man may by this meanes incurre, is no lesse than that mischiefe, which a man seeketh to avoid: For the Captaine being unseene and unknowne of his Souldiers, the courage they take by his example, and the heart they keep by his presence, is therewithall empaired and diminished; and losing the knowne ensignes, and accustomed markes of their Leader, they either deeme him dead, or dispairing of any good successe, to be fled. And touching experience, we sometimes see it to favour the one, and sometimes the other partie. The accident of *Pirrhus* in the battell he had against the Consull *Levinus* in *Italie*, serveth us for both uses: For, by concealing himselfe under the armes of *Demogacles*, and arming him with his owne, indeed he saved his life, but was in great danger to fall into the other mischiefe, and lose the day. *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, *Lucullus*, loved (at

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what time they were to enter fight) to arme and attire themselves with the richest armes, and garish clothes they had, and of particular bright-shining colours. *Agis*, *Agesilaus*, and that great *Gilippus*, contrarie, would ever goe to warres meanly accoutred, and without any imperiall ornament. Among other reproaches, that *Pompey* is charged withall in the battell of *Pharsalia*, this is one speciall, that he idlely lingred with his Armie, expecting what his enemie would attempt; forasmuch as that (I will heare borrow the very words of *Plutarke*, which are of more consequence than mine) weakneth the violence, that running giveth the first blowes, and therewithall removeth the charging of the Combattans one against another, which more, than any other thing is wont to fill them with fury and impetuosity, when with vehemence they come to entershocke one another, augmenting their courage by the crie and running; and in a manner alayeth and quaileth the heat of the Souldiers: Loe-here what he saith concerning this. But had *Cæsar* lost, who might not also have said, that contrariwise the strongest and firmest situation, is that, wherein a man keeps his stand without budging, and that who is settled in his march, closing, and against any time of need, sparing his strength in himselfe, hath a great advantage against him, that is in motion and disordered, and that running hath already consumed part of his breath? Moreover, that an armie being a body composed of so many severall parts, it is impossible it should in such furie advance it selfe

The use of a charge

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Advantage of carrying war

with so just a march, and proportioned a motion, and not breake and dis-ranke, or at least alter her ordinance, and that the nimblest be not grapling before his fellowes may helpe him. In that drearie battell of the two Persian brethren, *Clearchus* the Lacedemonian, who commanded the Græcians that followed *Cyrus* his faction, led them faire and gently without any hast-making to their charges; but when he came within fifty paces of his enemies, he bad them with all speed to run unto it; hoping by the shortnesse of the distance to manage their order, and direct their breath; in the meane time giving them the advantage of the impetuositie, both for their bodies, and for their shooting-armes. Others have ordered this doubt in their army after this manner: If your enemies head-long run upon you, stay for them and bouge not: If they without stirring stay for you, run with furie upon them.

In the passage which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth made into *Provence*, our King *Francis* the first, stood a good while upon this choice; whether it were best, by way of prevention, to go and meet with him in *Italie*, or to stay his comming into *France*: and albeit he considered what an advantage it is, for one to preserve his house from the troubles and mischiefes that warre brings with it, to the end that possessing her whole strength, it may continually in all times of need, store him with money, and supply him with all other helps; and considering how the necessitie of direfull warre, doth daily

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enforce a Generall to make spoile of goods, and waste the Countrie, which cannot well be done in our owne goods and countrie: and if the countriman doth not as patiently indure this ravage at his friends hands, as at his enemies, so as seditions may ensue amongst our owne factions, and troubles among our friends: That licence to rob and spoile, which in his Countrie may not be tolerated, is a great furtherance in a Souldier, and makes him the more willing, to endure the miseries and toylings that follow warre: And what a hard matter it is to keep the Souldier in office and heart, who hath no other hope of profit, but his bare pay, and is so neere his wife, his children, his friends, and his home: *That he who layeth the cloth, is ever put to the greatest charges: That there is more pleasure in assailing than in defending:* And that the apprehension of a battel lost in our owne home and entrailes, is so violent, that it may easily shake the whole frame, and distemper the whole body. Seeing there is no passion so contagious, as that of feare, nor so easie apprehended and taken a-trust, or doth more furiously possesse all parts of man: And that the Cities or Townes, which have either heard the bustling noise of the Tempest, or seene the sparkles of this all-consuming fire at their gates, or have perhaps received their Captaines wounded, their Citizens pursued, and their Souldiers spoiled, and all out of breath, if they be not more than obstinately constant, it is a thousand to one, if in that brunt of furie, they doe not headlong cast themselves into some desperate resolution: yet did he conclude and chose

into the enemy's country

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The decision of Francis

this resolve for the best. First to revoke his forces, he had beyond the Mountaines in *Italie*, and to stay his enemies approches. For, he might on the contrarie part imagine, that being in his owne Countrie, and amidst good friends, he had the better leasure to re-enforce his decayed forces, and more opportunity, to strengthen Townes, to munite Castles, to store Rivers with all necessaries they wanted, and to keepe all passages at his devotion, which done, all the wayes should be open for him, and might by them have all manner of victuals, money, and other habilements of warre brought him, in safety, and without convoy: that he should have his subjects so much the more affectionate unto him, by how much nearer they should see the danger: That having so many Cities, Townes, Holds, Castles, and Barres for his securitie, he might at all times, according to opportunitie and advantage, appoint and give Law unto the fight: And if he were pleased to temporize, whilest he tooke his ease, kept his forces whole, and maintained himself in safety, he might see his enemy consume and waste himself, by the difficulties which daily must necessarily assault, environ and combat him, as he who should be engaged in an enemie-countrie and foe-land; Where he should have nothing, nor meet with any thing, either before, or behind him, or of any side; that did not offer him continuall warre: no way nor meanes to refresh, to ease or give his armie elbow-roome, if any sicknesse or contagion should come amongst his men; nor shelter to lodge his

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hurt and maymed Souldiers: where neither monie, munition, nor victuals might come unto him, but at the swords point; where he should never have leasure to take any rest, or breath; where he should have no knowledge of places, passages, woods, foords, rivers, or countrie, that might defend him from ambuscados, or surprises: And if he should unfortunately chance to lose a battell, no hope to save, or meanes to re-unite the reliques of his forces. And there want not examples to strengthen both sides. *Scipio* found it better for him to invade his enemies countrie of *Affrica*, than to defend his owne, and fight with him in *Italie*, where he was, wherein he had good successe. But contrariwise, *Hanniball*, in the same warre wrought his owne overthrow, by leaving the conquest of a forraine countrie, for to goe and defend his owne. The Athenians having left the enemie in their owne land, for to passe into *Sicilie*, had very ill successe, and were much contraried by fortune: whereas *Agathocles* King of *Siracusa* prospered and was favoured by her, what time he passed into *Affrica*, and left the warre on foot in his owne countrie. And we are accustomed to say with some shew of reason, that especially in matters of warre, the events depend (for the greatest part) on fortune; which seldome will yeeld, or never subject her selfe unto our discourse or wisdome, as say these ensuing verses.

Events depend upon fortune

Et malè consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes:
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:

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Montaigne a Grammarian!

Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Majus, et in proprias ducat mortalia leges.
—MANIL. *Astr.* iv. 95.

T'is best for ill advis'd, wisdome may faile,
Fortune proves not the cause that should prevaile,
But here and there without respect doth saile,
A higher power forsooth us over-drawes,
And mortall states guides with immortall lawes.

But if it be well taken, it seemeth that our counsels and deliberations, doe as much depend of her; and that fortune doth also engage our discourses and consultations in her trouble and uncertaintie. *We reason rashly, and discourse at random,* saith *Timeus* in *Plato: For, even as we, so have our discourses great participation with the temeritie of hazard.*

CHAP. XLVIII

Of Steeds, called in French Destriers

BEHOLD, I am now become a Gramarian, I, who never learn't tongue but by way of roat, and that yet know not what either Adjective, Conjunctive, or Ablative meaneth. As far as I remember, I have sometimes heard say, that the Romanes had certaine horses, which they called *Funales*, or *Dextrarios*, which on the right hand were led by, as spare horses, to take them fresh at any time of need: And thence it commeth, that we call horses of service *Destriers*, And our ancient Romanes doe ordinarily say, to

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Adexter, in steed of, to accompanie. They also called *Desultorios equos*, certaine horses that were so taught, that mainly-running with all the speed they had, joyning sides to one another, without either bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen armed at all assayes, in the middest of their running-race, would cast and recast themselves from one to another horse. The Numidian men at armes, were wont to have a second spare-horse led by hand, that in the greatest furie of the battell, they might shift and change horse: *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus* (Liv. *Bel. Pun.* dec. iii. 3). *Whose manner was, as if they had beene vaulters, leading two horses with them in armour to leap from their tired horse to the fresh-one, even in the hottest of the fight. So great agilitie was in themselves, and so apt to be taught was the race of their horses.* There are many horses found, that are taught to helpe their master, to run upon any man shall offer to draw a naked sword upon them; furiously to leap upon any man, both with feet to strike, and with teeth to bite, that shall affront them; but that for the most part they rather hurt their friends than their enemies. Considering also, that if they once be grapled, you cannot easily take them off, and you must needs stand to the mercie of their combat. *Artibius*, Generall of the Persian armie had very ill lucke to be mounted upon a horse fashioned in this schoole, at what time he fought

The Numidians good horsemen

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The horses of the Mamalukes

man to man against *Onesilus* King of *Salamis*; for, he was the cause of his death, by reason the shield-bearer or squire of *Onesilus* cut him with a faulchon betweene the two shoulders, even as he was leaping upon his master. And if that, which the Italians report be true, that in the battell of *Fornovo*, King *Charles*, his horse with kicking, winching, and flying, rid both his master and himselfe from the enemies that encompast him, to dismount or kill him, and without that, he had beene lost: He committed himselfe to a great hazard, and scap't a narrow scowring. The Mammalukes boast, that they have the nimblest and readiest horses of any men at armes in the world. That both by nature they are instructed to discerne, and by custome taught to distinguish their enemie, on whom they must leap and wince with feet, and bite with teeth, according to the voice their master speaketh, or rider giveth them. And are likewise taught to take up from the ground, lances, darts, or any other weapons with their mouths, and as he commandeth to present them to their rider. It is said of *Cæsar*, and of *Pompey* the Great, that amongst their many other excellent qualities, they were also most cunning and perfect horsemen; and namely of *Cæsar*, that in his youth being mounted upon a horse, and without any bridle, he made him run a full cariere, make a sodaine stop, and with his hands behind his backe performe what ever can be expected of an excellent ready horse. And even as nature was pleased to make both him and *Alexander* two matchlesse

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miracles in militarie profession, so would you say, she hath also endevoured, yea, enforced herselfe to arme them extraordinarily; For, all men know, that *Alexanders* horse called *Bucephalus*, had a head shaped like unto that of a bull; that he suffered no man to get-on and sit him, but his master; that none could weald and manage him but he; what honours were done him after his death, all know, for he had a Citie erected in his name. *Cæsar* likewise had another, who had his fore-feet like unto a mans, with hoofes cloven in forme of fingers, who could never be handled, drest, or mounted but by *Cæsar*, who when he died, dedicated his image to the Goddesse *Venus*. If I be once on horse-backe, I alight very unwillingly; for, it is the seat I like best, whether I be sound or sicke. Plato *commendeth it to be availefull for health:* And Plinie *affirmeth the same to be healthfull for the stomacke, and for the joynts*. And sithence we be falne into this subject, let us a little follow it I pray you. We read of a law in *Xenophon*, by which all men that either had or were able to keepe a horse, were expresly forbidden to travell and goe a foot. *Trogus* and *Justinus* report, that the Parthians were not only accustomed to warre on horse-backe, but also to dispatch all their businesse, and negotiate their affaires both publike and privat; as to bargaine, to buy, to sell, to parly, to meet, to entertaine one another, and to converse and walke together; and that the chiefest difference betweene free men and servants amongst them, is, that the first ever ride,

Montaigne's love of horse-riding

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Value attached to horses

and the other goe alwaies on foot. An institution first devised by King *Cyrus*. There are many examples in the Romane histories (and *Suetonius* doth more particularly note it in *Cæsar*) of Captaines that commanded their horsemen to alight, whensoever, by occasion, they should be urged unto it, thereby to remove all manner of hope from their Souldiers to save themselves by flight, and for the advantage they hoped for in this manner of fight: *Quo haud dubiè superat Romanus* (Liv. dec. i. 3 & 7). *Wherein undantedly the Romanes is superiour to all*, saith *Titus Livius:* yet shall we see, that the first provision, and chiefe meanes they used to bridle rebellion amongst their new conquered nations, was to deprive them of all armes and horses. Therefore finde we so often in *Cæsar; Arma proferri, jumenta produci, obsides dari jubet* (Cæs. *Comment.* vii.): *He commands all their armour should be brought forth, all their cattell should be driven out, and hostages should be delivered.* The great Turke doth not permit at this day any Christian or Jew, to have or keepe any horse for himselfe, throughout all his large Empire. Our ancestors, and especially at what time we had warres with the English, in all solemne combats, or set battels, would (for the most part) alight from their horses, and fight on foot, because they would not adventure to hazard so precious a thing as their honour and life, but on the trust of their owne proper strength, and vigour of their undanted courage, and confidence of their limbs. Let *Chrisanthes* in *Xenophon* say

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what he pleaseth: whosoever fighteth on horse-backe, engageth his valour, and hazardeth his fortune on that of his horse; his hurts, his stumbling, his death, drawes your life and fortune into consequence, if he chance to startle or be afraid, then are you induced to doubt or feare: if to leape forward, then to become rash and fond-hardy: if he want a good mouth or a timely spurre, your honour is bound to answer for it. And therefore doe not I finde it strange, that those combats were more firme and furious, than those which now we see foughten on horse-backe. Horses in war

—cedebant pariter, pariterque ruebant
Victores, victique, neque his fuga nota, neque illis.
—VIRG. *Æn.* x. 756.

The victors and the vanquisht both together
Gave backe, came on: the flight was knowne in neither.

Their battels are seene much better compact and contrived: They are now but bickerings and routs: *primus clamor atque impetus rem decernit. The first shout and shocke makes an end of the matter.* And the thing we call to helpe us, and keepe us company in so great and hazardous an adventure, ought as much as possible may be, lie still in our disposition and absolute power. As I would counsell a gentleman to chuse the shortest weapons, and such as he may best assure himselfe of. It is most apparant, that a man may better assure himselfe of a sword he holdeth in his hand, than of a bullet shot out of a pistoll,

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Sword *v.* pistol

to which belong so many severall parts, as powder, stone, locke, snap-hanse, barrell, stocke, scowring-peece, and many others, whereof if the least faile, or chance to breake, and be distempered, it is able to overthrow, to hazard, or miscarry your fortune. Seldome doth that blow come or light on the marke it is aymed at, which the ayre doth carry.

Et quò ferre velint permittere vulnera ventis,
Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est,
Bella gerit gladii.—LUCAN. viii. 384.

Giving windes leave to give wounds as they list,
But swords have strength, and right men never mist
With sword t' assalt, and with sword to resist.

But concerning that weapon, I shall more amply speake of it, where I will make a comparison betweene ancient and moderne armes: And except the astonishment and frighting of the eare, which nowadaies is growne so familiar amongst men, that none doth greatly feare it; I thinke it to be a weapon of small effect, and hope to see the use of it abolished. That wherewith the Italians were wont to throw, with fire in it, was more frightfull and terrour-moving. They were accustomed to name a kinde of javelin, *Phalarica*, armed at one end with an yron pike of three foot long, that it might pierce an armed man through, which lying in the field they used to lanch or hurle with the hand, and sometimes to shoot out of certaine engines, for to defend besieged places: the staffe whereof being wreath'd

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about with hemp or flax, all pitched and oiled over, flying in the ayre, would soone be set afire, and lighting upon any body or target, deprived the partie hit therewith, of all use of weapons or limbes: Me thinkes neverthelesse, that comming to grapple, it might as well hinder the assailant, as trouble the assailed, and that the ground strewed with such burning truncheons, might in a pell-mell-confusion produce a common incommoditie. **Fire-darts and javelins**

—magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit
Fulminis acta modo.—VIRG. *Æn.* ix. 705.

With monstrous buzzing came a fire-dart thirled,
As if a thunder-bolt had there beene whirled.

They had also other meanes, to the use of which custome enured them, and that by reason of inexperience seeme incredible to us; wherewith they supplied the defect of our powder and bullets. They with such fury darted their *Piles*, and with such force hurled their javelins, that they often pierced two targets and two armed men through, as it were with a spit. They hit as sure and as farre with their slings, as with any other shot: *Saxis globosis funda, mare apertum incessentes: coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci assueti trajicere: non capita modò hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent* (LIV. dec. iv. 8). *While they were boyes, with round stones in a sling, making ducks and drakes upon the sea, they accustomed to cast through round marks of small compasse a great distance off: whereby they not only hit and hurt the heads of their enemies,*

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Slings and arrows

but would strike any place they aymed at. Their battering or murthering peeces represented, as well the effect, as the clattering and thundering noise of ours: *ad ictus mœnium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor et trepidatio cœpit. At the batterie of the walles made with a terrible noise, feare and trembling began to attach them within.* The Gaules our ancient forefathers in *Asia*, hated mortally such treacherous and flying weapons, as they that were taught to fight hand to hand, and with more courage. *Non tam patentibus plagis moventur, ubi latior quàm altior plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant; iidem quum aculeus sagittæ, aut glandis abditæ introrsus tenui vulnere in speciem urit: tum in rabiem et pudorem tam parvæ perimentis pestis versi, prosternunt corpora humi* (Liv. dec. iv. 8). *They are not so much moved with wide gashes, where the wound is more broad than it is deepe, there they thinke, that they fight with more bravery; but when the sting of an arrow or a bullet, with a small wound to shew, gals them inwardly, then falling into rage and shame that so slight a hurt should kill them, they cast their bodies on the ground.*

A model or picture very neere unto an harquebusada. The ten thousand Græcians in their long-lingring, and farre-famous retreat, encountered with a certaine nation, that exceedingly much endomaged them with stiffe, strong and great [bowes], and so long arrowes, that taking them up, they might throw them after the manner of a dart, and with them pierce a target and an armed man thorow and thorow. The engines which *Dionysius* invented in *Siracusa*, to shoot

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and cast mightie big arrowes, or rather timber-peeces, and huge-great stones, so farre and with such force, did greatly represent, and come very neere our moderne inventions. We may not also forget, the pleasant seat, which one named master *Peter Pol*, doctor in divinitie used to sit upon his mule, who as *Monstrelet* reporteth, was wont to ride up and downe the streets of *Paris*, ever sitting sideling, as women use. He also saith in another place, that the Gascoines had certaine horses, so fierce and terrible, taught to turne and stop suddenly in running, whereat the French, the Piccards, the Flemmings, and Brabantins (as they who were never accustomed to see the like) were greatly amazed, and thought it a wonder: I use his very words. *Cæsar* speaking of those of *Swethen*, saith, In any skirmish or fight on horse-backe, they often alight to combat on foot, having so trayned and taught their horses, that so long as the fight lasteth, they never bouge from their masters side, that if need require, they may suddenly mount up againe: and according to their naturall custome, there is nothing accounted more base or vile, than to use saddles or bardels, and they greatly contemne and scorne such as use them: So that a few of them feare not to encounter with a troupe farre exceeding them in number. That which I have other times wondered at, to see a horse fashioned and taught, that a man having but a wand in his hand, and his bridle loose hanging over his eares, might at his pleasure manage, and make him turne, stop, run, cariere, trot, gallop, and

Bare-backed steeds

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Mules contemned

what ever else may be expected of an excellent ready horse, was common amongst the Massilians, who never used either bridle or sadle.

> *Et gens quæ nudo residens Massilia dorso,*
> *Ora levi flectit, frænorum nescia virga.*
> —LUCAN. iv. 681.
>
> *Massilian* horsemen on bare horse-backe-sit
> Manage with light rod, without reynes or bit.
>
> *Et Numidæ infræni cingunt.*—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 41.
>
> *Numidians* who their horses ride
> Without bit, round about us bide.

Equi sine frænis, deformis ipse cursus, rigida cervice et extento capite currentium: The horses being without bridles, their course is ill favoured, they running with a stiffe necke, and outstretch'd head (like a roasted Pigge:) Alphonsus King of *Spaine*, that first established the order of Knights, called the order of the Bend or skarfe, amongst other rules devised this one, that none of them, upon paine to forfeit a marke of silver, for every time offending, should ever ride either mule or mulet; as I lately read in *Guevaras* epistles, of which whosoever called them his golden epistles, gave a judgement farre different from mine. The *Courtier* saith, *That before his time, it was counted a great shame in a gentleman to be seene riding upon a mule:* Whereas the Abyssines are of a contrarie opinion, who accordingly as they are advanced, to places of honour, or dignitie, about their Prince, called *Prester-John*, so doe they more and more affect in signe of pompe and state, to ride upon large-great mules. *Xenophon*

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reporteth, that the *Assirians* were ever wont to keepe their horses fast-tied in fetters or gyves, and ever in the stable, they were so wilde and furious. And for that they required so much time to unshackle, and to harnish them, (lest protracting of so long time, might, if they should chance at unawares, and being unready, to be surprised by their enemies, endomage them) they never tooke up their quarter in any place, except it were well dyked and intrenched: His *Cirus*, whom he maketh so cunning in horsemanship, did alwaies keepe his horses at a certaine stint, and would never suffer them to have any meat before they had deserved the same by the sweat of some exercise. If the Scithians in time of warre chanced to be brought to any necessitie of victuals, the readiest remedy they had, was to let their horses bloud, and therewithall quenched their thirst, and nourished themselves. Xenophon on horses

Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo.
—MART. *Spect.* iii. 4.

The Scithian also came, who strangely feedes
On drinking out his horse (or that hee bleedes).

Those of *Crotta* being hardly besieged by *Metellus*, were reduced to so hard a pinch, and strait necessitie of all manner of other beverage, that they were forced to drinke the stale or urine of their horses. To verifie how much better cheape the Turkes doe both levie, conduct, and maintaine their armies, than we Christians doe; They report, that besides their

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Propitiation of horses

souldiers never drinke any thing but water, and feed on nothing but rice, and drie-salt flesh, which they reduce into a kinde of powder (whereof every private man doth commonly cary so much about him, as will serve for a moneths provision) and for a shift, will live a long time with the bloud of their horses; wherein they use to put a certain quantitie of salt, as the Tartars and Moskovites doe. These new discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniards came first amongst them, esteemed that aswell men as horses, were either gods, or creatures far beyond, and excelling their nature in nobilitie. Some of which, after they were vanquished by them, comming to sue for peace and beg pardon at their hands, to whom they brought presents of gold, and such viands as their countrie yeelded; omitted not to bring the same, and as much unto their horses, and with as solemne Oration as they had made unto men, taking their neighings, as a language of truce and composition. In the [h]ether Indies, the chiefe and royallest honour was anciently wont to be, to ride upon an Elephant; the second to goe in Coaches drawne with foure horses; the third, to ride upon a Camell; the last and basest, was to be carried or drawne by one horse alone. Some of our moderne Writers report, to have seene some Countries in that climate, where the people ride oxen, with packe-saddles, stirrops, and bridles, by which they were carried very easily. *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rutilianus*, warring against the Samnites, and seeing that

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his horsemen, in three or foure charges they gave, had missed to breake and run through his enemies battalion, at last resolved thus, that they should all unbridle their horses, and with maine force of sharpe spurres pricke and broach them; which done, the horses as enraged, tooke such a running, thorow, and athwart the enemies campe, armes and men, that nought was able to resist them; and with such a furie, that by opening, shouldring, and overthrowing, the battallion, they made way for his Infanterie, which there committed a most bloudy slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie. The like was commanded and effected by *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* against the Celtiberians: *Id cum majore vi equorum facietis, si effrænatos in hostes equos immittitis; quod sæpe Romanos equites cum laude fecisse memoriæ proditum est. Detractisque frænis bis ultrò citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrerunt* (Liv. dec. iv. 10). *That shall you doe with more violence of horse, if you force your horse unbridled on the enemie; which it is recorded, the Roman horsemen have often performed with great proofe and praise. So pulling off the bridles, they twice ran through forward, and backe againe with great slaughter of the enemie, all their launces broken.*

Mares' milk liked by Tartars

The duke of *Moscovie* did anciently owe this reverence unto the Tartars, at what time soever they sent any Ambassadors to him, that he must goe meet them on foot, and present them with a goblet full of mares-milke (a drinke counted very delicious amongst them) which whilst they were

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The misfortune of Bajazet

drinking, if any drop chaunced to be spilt upon their horses haires, he was, by dutie, bound to licke the same up with his tongue. The armie which the Emperor *Bajazeth* had sent into *Russia*, was overwhelmed by so horrible a tempest of snow, that to find some shelter, and to save themselves from the extremitie of the cold, many advised to kill and unpanch their horses, and enter into their panches, to enjoy and find some ease by that vitall heat. *Bajazeth* after that bloudy and tragical conflict wherein he was overthrowne by the Scithian *Tamburlane*, in seeking to escape, had no doubt saved himselfe, by the swiftnesse of an Arabian mare, on which he was mounted that day, if unluckily he had not beene forced to let her drinke her fill in passing over a river, which made her so faint and foundred, that he was easily overtaken and apprehended by those that pursued him. The common saying is, that to let a horse stale after a full cariere, doth take downe his speed, but I would never have thought that drinking had done it, but rather strengthened and heartned him.

Cræsus passing alongst the citie of *Sardis*, found certaine thickets, wherin were great store of snakes and serpents, on which his horses fed verie hungerly, which thing, as *Herodotus* saith, was an ill-boding-prodigy unto his affaires. We call him an entire horse, that hath his full mane, and whole eares, and which in shew, or at a muster, doth not exceed others. The Lacedemonians having defeated the Athenians in

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Sicilie, returning in great pompe and glory from the victory, into the City of *Siracusa*, among other Bravadoes of theirs, caused such horses as they had taken from their enemies to be shorne all over, and so led them in triumph. *Alexander* fought with a nation called *Dahas*, where they went to warre two and two, all armed upon one horse, but when they came to combat, one must alight, and so successively one fought on foot, and the other on horse backe, each in his turne one after another. I am perswaded that in respect of sufficiencie, of comlinesse, and of grace on horseback, no Nation goeth beyond us. A good horse-man, (speaking according to our phrase) seemeth rather to respect an undismayed courage, than an affected cleane seat. The man most skilfull, best and surest-sitting, comeliest-graced, and nimblest-handed, to sit, to ride, and mannage a horse cunningly, that ever I knew, and that best pleased my humor, was Monsieur de *Carnavalet*, who was Master of the horse unto our King *Henry* the second. I have seene a man take his full cariere, standing boult-upright on both his feet in the saddle, leap downe to the ground from it, and turning backe, take off the saddle, and presently set it on againe as fast as ever it was, and then leap into it againe, and al this did he whilst his horse was running as fast as might be with his bridle on his necke. I have also seene him ride over a bonet or cap, and being gone a good distance from it, with his bow shooting backward, to sticke many arrowes in the

A great horseman

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Clever horse-manship

same; then sitting still in the saddle, to take up any thing from the ground, to set one foot to the ground, and keepe the other in the stirrop, and continually running doe a thousand such tumbling and apish tricks, wherewith he got his living. There have in my time two men beene seene in *Constantinople*, both at once upon one horse, and who in his speediest running, would by turnes, first one, and then another, leape downe to the ground, and then into the saddle againe, the one still taking the others place. And another, who only with teeth, and without the helpe of any hand, would bridle, curry, rub, dresse, saddle, girt, and harnish his horse. Another, that betweene two horses, and both saddled, standing upright, with one foot in the one, and the second in the other, did beare another man on his armes, standing upright, run a full speedy course, and the uppermost to shoot and hit any marke with his arrowes. Divers have beene seene, who standing on their heads, and with their legs out-stretched aloft, having many sharp-pointed cimitaries fastned round about the saddle, to gallop at full speed. While I was a young lad, I saw the Prince of *Sulmona* at *Naples*, manage a young, a rough and fierce horse, and shew all manner of horsemanship; To hold testons, or reals under his knees and toes, so fast, as if they had beene nayled there, and all to shew his sure, steady, and unmoveable sitting.

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Chap. XLIX

Of ancient customes

I WOULD willingly excuse our people for having no other patterne or rule of perfection, but his owne customes, his owne fashions: For, it is a common vice, not only in the vulgar sort, but as it were in all men, to bend their ayme, and frame their thoughts unto the fashions, wherein they were borne. I am pleased when he shall see *Fabricius* or *Lælius*, who because they are neither attired, nor fashioned according to our manner, that he condemne their countenance to be strange, and their cariage barbarous. But I bewaile his particular indiscretion, in that he suffereth himselfe to be so blinded, and deceived by the authoritie of present custome, and that if custome pleaseth, he is ready to change opinion, and varie advice, every moneth, nay every day, and judgeth so diversly of himselfe. When he wore short-wasted doublets, and but little lower then his breast, he would maintaine by militant reasons, that the waste was in his right place: but when not long after he came to weare them so longwasted, yea almost so low as his privities, than began he to condemne the former fashion, as fond, intolerable and deformed; and to commend the latter, as comely, handsome, and commendable. A new fashion of apparell creepeth no sooner into

All men follow custom

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Change of fashion

use, but presently he blameth, and dispraiseth the old, and that with so earnest a resolution, and universall a consent, that you would say, it is some kind of madnesse, or selfe fond humor, that giddieth his understanding.

And forasmuch as our changing or altering of fashions, is so sudden and new-fangled, that the inventions, and new devices of all the tailors in the world, cannot so fast invent novelties, it must necessarily follow, that neglected and stale rejected fashions doe often come into credit and use againe: And the latest and newest, within a while after come to be outcast and despised, and that one selfe-same judgement within the space of fifteene or twentie yeares admitteth, not only two or three different, but also cleane contrarie opinions, with so light and incredible inconstancie, that any man would wonder at it. There is no man so suttle-crafty amongst us, that suffreth not himselfe to be enveigled and over-reached by this contradiction, and that is not insensibly dazeled, both with his inward and externall eies. I will heere huddle-up some few ancient fashions that I remember: Some of them like unto ours, other-some farre differing from them: To the end, that having ever this continuall variation of humane things in our minde, we may the better enlighten and confirme our transported judgement. That manner of fight which we use now adaies with rapier and cloke, was also used among the Romans, as saith *Cæsar*. *Sinistris sagos involvunt, gladiosque distringunt* (Cæs.

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Bel. Civ. i.): *They wrap their left armes in their clokes, and draw their swords.* We may to this day observe this vice to be amongst us, and which we have taken from them, that is, to stay such passengers as we meet by the way, and force them to tell us, who they are, whence they come, whither they goe, and to count it as an injurie, and cause of quarrell, if they refuse to answer our demand. In Baths, which our forefathers used daily before meales, as ordinarily as we use water to wash our hands, when first they came into them, they washed but their armes and legges, but afterward (which custome lasted many after-ages; and to this day continueth amongst divers nations of the world) their whole body over, with compounded and perfumed waters, in such sort as they held it as a great testimonie of simplicitie, to wash themselves in pure and uncompounded water: Such as were most delicate, and effeminate, were wont to perfume their whole bodies over and over, three or foure times every day; And often (as our French women have lately taken up) to picke and snip out the haires of their forehead, so they of all their body. Use of baths

Quod pectus, quod crura tibi, quod brachia vellis.
—MART. ii. *Epi.* lxii. 1.

That you from breast, legges, armes, the haire
Neately pull off (to make them faire).

Although they had choice of ointments fit for that purpose.

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Beds, and salutations

Psilotro nitet, aut arida latet abdita creta.
—*Lib.* vi. *Epi.* xciii. 9.

She shines with ointments that make haire to fall,
Or with dry chalke she over-covers all.

They loved to lie soft, and on fine downe-beds, alleaging lying on hard matresses as a signe of patience. They fed lying on their beds, neere after the manner of the Turkes nowadaies.

Inde thoro pater Æneas sic orsus ab alto.
—Virg. *Æn.* ii. 2.

Father *Æneas* thus gan say,
From stately couch where then he lay.

And it is reported of *Cato Junior*, that after the battell of *Pharsalia*, and that he began to mourne and bewaile the miserable state of the common-wealth, and ill condition of publike affaires, he ever eat sitting on the ground, folowing an austere, and observing a strict kinde of life. The *Beso las manos* was used as a signe of honour and humilitie, only toward great persons. If friends met, after friendly salutations, they used to kisse one another, as the Venetians doe at this day.

Gratatusque darem cum dulcibus oscula verbis.
—Ovid. *Pont.* iv. *El.* ix. 13.

Give her I would with greetings graced,
Kisses with sweet words enterlaced.

And in saluting or suing to any great man, they touched his knees. *Pasicles* the Philosopher, brother unto *Crates*, comming to salute one, wheras he should have carried his hand to

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his knee, carried the same unto his genitories: The partie saluted, having rudely push't him away; *What?* quoth he, *is not that part yours as well as the other?* Their manner of feeding was as ours, their fruit last. They were wont to wipe their tailes (this vaine superstition of words must be left unto women) with a sponge, and that's the reason why *Spongia* in Latine is counted an obscene word: which sponge was ever tied to the end of a staffe, as witnesseth the storie of him, that was carried to be devoured of the wild beasts before the people, who desiring leave to goe to a privie before his death, and having no other meanes to kill himselfe, thrust downe the sponge and staffe, hee found in the privie, into his throte, wherewith he choked himselfe. Having ended the delights of nature, they were wont to wipe their privities with perfumed wooll. Latin customs

At tibi nil faciam, sed lotâ mentula lanâ.
—MART. xi. *Epig.* li. 11.

To thee no such thing will I bring,
But with wash't wooll another thing.

In every street of *Rome* were placed tubs, and such vessels for passengers to make water in.

Pusi sæpe lacum propter, et ac dolia curta
Somno dejuncti credunt extollere vestem.
—LUCR. iv. 1018.

Children asleepe oft thinke they take up all
Neere to some pissing tub, some lake, some wall.

They used to breake their fast, and nonchion betweene meales, and all summer time, had men

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Winter and summer habits

that sold snowe up and downe the streets, wherewith they refreshed their wines; of whom some were so daintie, that all winter long they used to put snow into their wine, not deeming it cold enough. Principall, and noble men had their cup-bearers, tasters, carvers and buffons to make them merrie. In Winter their viandes were brought and set on the boord upon arches, as we use chafing dishes; and had portable kitchins (of which I have seene some) wherein might be drawne, wheresoever one list, a whole service and messe of meat.

> *Has vobis epulas habete lauti,*
> *Nos offendimur ambulante cæna,*
> —MART. vii. *Epig.* xlvii. 5.
>
> Take you daintie-mouth'd such stirring feasts;
> With walking meales we are offended guests.

And in summer they often caused cold water (being carried through pipes) to drill upon them as they sate in their dining-chambers, or lowe parlers, where in cesterns, they kept store of fish alive, which the by-standers might at their pleasure, chuse and take with their hands, and have it drest every man according to his fantasie. Fish hath ever had this privilege, as at this day it hath; that chiefe Gentlemen, are pleased, and have skill to dress-it best: And to say truth, the taste of fish is much more delicat and exquisit, than that of flesh, at least in mine. But in all manner of magnificence, delitiousnes, riotous gluttonie, inventions of voluptuousnes, wantonnes, and sumptuositie, we truly endevour, as

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much as may be, to equall and come neere them: For, our will and taste is as much corrupted as theirs, but our skill, and sufficiencie is farre short of them: Our wit is no more capable, and our strength no more able to approach and match them in these vitious and blame-worthy parts, than in vertuous and commendable actions: For, both proceede from a vigor of spirit, and farre-reaching wit; which, without comparison, was much greater in them, than now in us. And mindes, by how much more strong, and excellent they are, so much lesse facultie and meanes have they, to doe, either excellently well, or notoriously ill. The chiefest aime amongst them, was a meane or mediocrity. The *Foremost* or *Last*, in writing or speaking, had no signification of preheminence or greatnes, as may evidently appeare by their writings. They would as familiarly and as soone say, *Oppius* and *Cæsar*, as *Cæsar* and *Oppius*; and as indifferently, I and thou, as thou and I. And that's the reason why I have heretofore noted in the life of *Flaminius*, in our French *Plutarke*, a place, where it seemeth that the Author, speaking of the jealousie of glorie, that was betweene the Ætolians and the Romans, for the gaine of a battell, which they had obtained in common, maketh for the purpose, that in Greeke songs the Ætolians were named before the Romans, except there bee some Amphibology in the French words: for, in that toung I reade it. When Ladies came unto stoves or hot-houses, they made it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to

The Latin via media

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Bath customs and hair fashions

be washed, rubbed, chafed and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

Inguina succinctus nigrâ tibi servus alutâ
—Stat, quoties calidis nuda foveris æquis.
—Epig. XXXIV. 1.

Your man, whose loynes blacke-lether gird's, stand's-by,
Whilst in warme water you starke-naked lie.

They also used to sprinkle themselves all over with certaine powders, thereby to alay and represse all manner of filth or sweat. The ancient *Gaules* (saith *Sidonius Apollinaris*) wore their haire long before, and all the hinder part of their head shaven, a fashion that our wanton youths and effeminate gallants, have lately renued, and in this new-fangled and fond-doting age, brought up againe, with wearing of long-dangling locks before. The ancient Romans, paid the watermen their fare or due so soone as they came into the boat, whereas we pay it when they set us on shore.

—dum as exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora. —HOR. i. *Sat.* v. 13.

While they call for their fare, tie drawe-mule to,
There runs away, a full houre, if not two.

Women were wont to lie on the utmost side of the bed, and therefore was *Cæsar* called *Sponda Regis Nicomedis* (SUET. *Jul. Cæs.* c. 49): *King Nicomedes his beds side:* They tooke breath while they were drinking, and used to baptise, or put water in their wines.

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White mourning

—quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis falerni
Pocula prætereunte limphâ?
—Hor. ii. *Od.* xi. 18.

What boy of mine or thine
Shall coole our cup of wine
With running water fine?

Those cousening and minde-deceiving countenances of lakeis were also amongst them.

O Jane, à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit
Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis albas,
Nec linguæ quantum sitiet canis Apula tantum.
—Pers. *Sat.* i. 58.

O *Janus*, whom behinde no Storks-bill doth deride,
Nor nimble hand resembling mak's eares white and wide,
Nor so much tongue lil'd out as dogges with thirst ore-dride

The Argian and Romane Ladies, mourned in white, as our dames wont to doe; and if I might be credited, and beare-sway amongst them, they should continue it still. But because there are many bookes, that treat of this argument, I will say no more of it.

Chap. L

Of Democritus and Heraclitus

JUDGEMENT is an instrument for all subjects, and medleth every where, And therefore in the Essayes I make of it, there is no

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Montaigne discourses upon

maner of occasion, I seeke not to employ therein. If it be a subject I understand not my selfe, therein I make triall of it, sounding afarre off the depth of the ford, and finding the same over deepe for my reach, I keepe my selfe on the shoare. And to acknowledge not to be able to wade through, is a part of it's effect, yea of such, whereof he vanteth most. If I light upon a vaine and idle subject, I assay to trie, and endevour to see, whether I may find a good ground to worke upon, and matter to frame a body, and wherewith to build and under-lay it. Sometimes I addresse my judgement and contrive it to a noble and out-worne subject, wherein is nothing found subsisting of it selfe, the high way to it, being so bare-trodden, that it cannot march, but in other steps. There he pleaseth himselfe in chusing the course he thinkes best, and a thousand paths sometimes he saith, this or that was best chosen. I take my first Argument of fortune: All are alike unto me: And I never purpose to handle them throughly: For, there is nothing wherein I can perceive the full perfection: Which they doe not that promise to shew it us. Of a hundred parts and visages that every thing hath, I take one, which sometimes I slightly runne over, and other times but cursorily glance at. And yet other whilst I pinch it to the quicke. And give it a *Stockado*, not the widest, but the deepest I can. And for the most part I love to seize upon them by some unwonted lustre. I would adventure to treat and discourse of some matter to the depth; knew I

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my selfe lesse, or were I deceived in mine owne impuissance; Scattering here one and there another word: Scantlings taken from their maine ground-work, disorderly dispersed, without any well-grounded designe and promise. I am not bound to make it good, nor without varying to keepe my selfe close-tied unto it; whensoever it shall please me to yeeld my selfe to doubt, to uncertaintie, and to my Mistris forme, which is ignorance. Each motion sheweth and discovereth what we are. The very same minde of *Cæsar*, we see in directing, marshalling, and setting the battel of *Pharsalia*, is likewise seene to order, dispose, and contrive, idle, trifling and amorous devices. We judge of a horse, not only by seeing him ridden, and cunningly managed, but also by seeing him trot, or pace; yea, if we but looke upon him as he stands in the stable. Amongst the functions of the soule, some are but meane and base. He that seeth her no further, can never know her thorowly. And he that seeth her march her naturall and simple pace, doth peradventure observe her best. The winds of passions take her most in her highest pitch, seeing she entirely coucheth herselfe upon every matter, and wholy therein exerciseth herselfe: and handleth but one at once; not according to it, but according to herselfe. Things severall in themselves have peradventure, weight, measure, and condition: But inwardly, in us, she cuts it out for them, as she understandeth the same herselfe. Death is fearefull and ugly unto *Cicero;* wished for and desired of

his choice of subjects

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Good and evil depend upon ourselves

Cato: and indifferent unto *Socrates*. Health, well-fare, conscience, authoritie, riches, glorie, beautie, and their contraries are dispoyled at the entrance, and receive a new vesture at the soules hand. Yea, and what coulour she pleaseth; browne, bright, greene, sad, or any hew else: sharpe or sweete, deepe or superficiall, and what each of them pleaseth. For none of them did ever verifie their stiles, their rules, or formes in common; each one severally is a Queene in her owne estate. Therefore let us take no more excuses from externall qualities of things. To us it belongeth to give our selves accoumpt of it. Our good, and our evill hath no dependancy, but from our selves. Let us offer our vowes and offerings unto it; and not to fortune. She hath no power over our manners. Why shall I not judge of *Alexander*, as I am sitting and drinking at Table, and talking in good company? Or if hee were playing at Chesse, what string of his wit doth not touch or harpe on this fond-childish, and time-consuming play? I lothe and shun it, only because there is not sport enough in it, and that in his recreation, he is over serious with us, being ashamed I must apply that attention therunto, as might be imployed on some good subject. He was no more busied in levying his forces and preparing for his glorious passage into *India;* nor this other in disintangling and discovering of a passage, whence dependeth the well-fare and safety of mankind. See how much our mind troubleth this ridiculous ammuzing, if all her sinnewes bandy not. How

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amply she giveth every one Law in that, to know and directly to judge of himselfe. I doe not more universally view and feele my selfe in any other posture. What passion doth not exercise us thereunto? Choller, spight, hatred, impatience, and vehement ambition to overcome, in a matter wherein it were haply more excusable to be ambitious for to be vanquished. For, a rare pre-excellencie, and beyond the common reach, in so frivolous a thing, is much mis-seeming a man of honour. What I say of this example, may be spoken of all others. Every parcell, every occupation of a man, accuseth, and sheweth him equall unto another. *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* were two Philosophers, the first of which, finding and deeming humane condition to be vaine and ridiculous, did never walke abroad, but with a laughing, scorneful and mocking countenance: Whereas *Heraclitus* taking pitie and compassion of the very same condition of ours, was continually seene with a sad, mournfull, and heavie cheere, and with teares trickling downe his blubbered eyes.

The two philosophers contrasted

—Alter
Ridebat quoties à limine moverat unum
Protulerátque pedem, flebat contrarius alter.
—Juven. *Sat.* x. 28.

One from his doore, his foot no sooner past,
But straight he laught; the other wept as fast.

I like the first humor best, not because it is more pleasing to laugh, than to weepe; but for it is more disdainfull, and doth more condemne us than

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Diogenes and Timon

the other. And me thinkes we can never bee sufficiently despised, according to our merit. Bewailing and commiseration, are commixed with some estimation of the thing moaned and wailed. Things scorned and contemned, are thought to be of no worth. I cannot be perswaded, there can be so much ill lucke in us, as there is apparant vanitie, nor so much malice, as sottishnesse. We are not so full of evill, as of voydnesse and inanitie. We are not so miserable, as base and abject. Even so *Diogenes*, who did nothing but trifle, toy, and dally with himselfe, in rumbling and rowling of his tub, and flurting at *Alexander*, accompting us but flies, and bladders puft with winde, was a more sharp, a more bitter, and a more stinging judge, and by consequence, more just and fitting my humor, than *Timon*, surnamed the hater of all mankinde. For looke what a man hateth, the same thing he takes to hart. *Timon* wisht all evill might light on us; He was passionate in desiring our ruine. He shunned and loathed our conversation, as dangerous and wicked, and of a depraved nature: Whereas the other so little regarded us, that wee could neither trouble nor alter him by our contagion; forsooke our company, not for feare, but for disdaine of our commerce: He never thought us capable or sufficient to doe either good or evill. Of the same stampe was the answer of *Statilius* to whom *Brutus* spake to win him to take part, and adhere to the conspiracie against *Cæsar:* He allowed the enterprize to be very just, but disalowed of the men that should performe the same, as un-

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worthy that any man should put himself in any adventure for them: Conformable to the discipline of *Hegesias*, who said, *That a wise man ought never to doe any thing, but for himselfe;* forasmuch as he alone is worthy to have any action performed for him: and to that of *Theodorus*, *who thought it an injustice, that a wise man should in any case hazard himselfe for the good and benefit of his countrie, or to indanger his wisdome for fooles.* Our owne condition is as ridiculous, as risible; as much to be laught at, as able to laugh. **The art of a rhetorician**

Chap. LI

Of the vanitie of Words

A RETHORICIAN of ancient times, said, that his trade was, to make small things appeare and seeme great. It is a shooemaker, that can make great shooes for a little foot. Had hee lived in *Sparta*, he had doubtlesse beene well whipped, for professing a false, a couzening and deceitfull art. And I thinke, *Archidamus* King of that Citie did not without astonishment listen unto the answer of *Thucydides*, of whom he demanded, whether he, or *Pericles*, was the strongest and nimblest wrestler; whose answer was this, *Your question Sir, is very hard to be decided; for if in wrestling with him, I give him a fall, with his faire words he perswadeth those that saw him on the ground, that he never fell, and so gets the victorie.* Those that maske and paint women,

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Oratory a deceiving and flattering art

commit not so foule a fault; for it is no great losse, though a man see them not, as they were naturally borne and unpainted: Whereas these professe to deceive and beguile, not our eies, but our judgement; and to bastardize and corrupt the essence of things. Those common-wealths, that have maintained themselves in a regular, formal, and well governed estate, as that of *Creete* and *Lacedemon*, did never make any great esteeme of Orators. *Ariston* did wisely define Rhetorike *to be a Science, to perswade the vulgar people: Socrates* and *Plato, to be an Art to deceive and flatter*. And those which denie it in the generall description, doe every where in their precepts verifie the same. The Mahometans, by reason of it's inutilitie, forbid the teaching of it to their children. And the Athenians, perceiving how pernicious the profession and use thereof was, and of what credit in their Citie, ordained, that their principall part, which is to move affections, should be dismissed and taken away, together with all *exordiums* and *perorations*. It is an instrument devised, to busie, to manage, and to agitate a vulgar and disordered multitude; and is an implement imployed, but about distempered and sicke mindes, as Physicke is about crazed bodies. And those where either the vulgar, the ignorant, or the generalitie have had all power, as that of *Rhodes*, those of *Athens*, and that of *Rome*, and where things have ever beene in continuall disturbance and uproare, thither have Orators and the professors of that Art flocked. And verily, if it

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be well looked into, you shall finde very few men in those common-wealths, that without helpe of eloquence have attained to any worthy estimation and credit: *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Crassus*, *Lucullus*, *Lentulus*, *Metellus*, have thence taken their greatest stay and furtherance, whereby they have ascended unto that height and greatnesse of authoritie, whereunto they at last attained, and against the opinion of better times have more prevailed with words than with armes. For, *L. Volumnius* speaking publikely in favour of the election, which some had made of *Quintus Fabius*, and *Publius Decius*, to be Consuls; saith thus; *They are men borne unto warre, of high spirits, of great performance, and able to effect any thing, but rude, simple, and unarted in the combat of talking; minds truly consulare. They only are good Pretors, to do justice in the Citie* (saith he) *that are subtile, cautelous, well-spoken, wily and lip-wise.* Eloquence hath chiefly flourished in *Rome* when the common-wealths affaires have beene in worst estate, and that the devouring Tempest of civill broyles, and intestine warres did most agitate and turmoyle them. Even as a rancke, free and untamed soyle, beareth the rankest and strongest weeds, whereby it seemeth that those common-weales, which depend of an absolute Monarch, have lesse need of it than others: For, that foolishnesse and facilitie, which is found in the common multitude, and which doth subject the same, to be managed, perswaded, and led by the eares, by the sweet alluring and sense-entrancing sound of this har-

Eloquence most common in republics

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The eloquence of

monie, without duely weighing, knowing, or considering the trueth of things by the force of reason: This facilitie and easie yeelding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easie to warrant him from the impression of this poyson, by good institution and sound counsell. There was never seene any notable or farre-renowned Orator to come out of *Macedon* or *Persia*. What I have spoken of it, hath beene upon the subject of an Italian, whom I have lately entertained into my service. Who during the life of the whilom cardinal *Caraffa* served him in the place of steward of his house. Enquiring of his charge, and particular qualitie, he told me, a long, formall, and eloquent discourse of the science or skill of epicurisme and gluttonie, with such an Oratorie-gravitie, and Magistrale countenance, as if he had discoursed of some high mysterious point of divinitie, wherein he hath very methodically decifred and distinguished sundrie differences of appetites: First of that which a man hath fasting, then of that men have after the first, the second, and third service. The severall means how sometimes to please it simply, and other times to sharpen and provoke the same; the policie and rare invention of his sawces: First, in general terms, then particularizing the qualities and severall operations of the ingredients, and their effects: The differences of salades according to their distinct seasons, which must be served in warme, and which cold: The manner how to dresse, how to adorne, and embellish

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them, to make them more pleasing to the sight. After that, he entred into a large and farre-fetcht narration, touching the true order, and due method of service, full of goodly and important considerations. the Cardinal's steward

—Nec minimo sanè discrimine refert,
Quo gestu lepores, et quo gallina secetur.
—Sat. v. 127.

What grace we use, it makes small diff'rence, when
We carve a Hare, or else breake up a Hen.

And all that, filled up and stuffed with rich magnificent words, well couched phrases, oratorie figures, and patheticall metaphors; yea such as learned men use and imploy in speaking of the Government of an Empire, which made me remember my man.

Hoc salsum est, hoc adustum est, hoc lautum est parum,
Illud rectè, iterum sic memento, sedulò,
Moneo quæ possum pro mea sapientia.
Postremò tanquam in speculum, in patinas, Demea,
Inspicere jubeo, et moneo quid facto usus sit.
—Ter. *Adel.* act. iii. sce. iv. 62.

This dish is salt, this burnt, this not so fine,
That is well done, doe so againe; Thus I
As my best wisdome serves, all things assigne.
Lastly Sir, I command, they neatly prie,
On dishes, as a glasse,
And shew what needfull was.

Yet did those strict Græcians commend the order and disposition, which *Paulus Æmilius* observed in the banquet he made them at his returne from *Macedon:* But here I speake not of the effects, but of the words. I know not

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The words of Architects and Grammarians

whether they worke that in others, which they doe in mee. But when I heare our Architects mouth-out those big, and ratling words of *Pilasters*, *Architraves*, *Cornixes*, *Frontispices*, *Corinthian*, and *Dorike* works, and such like fustian-termes of theirs, I cannot let my wandering imagination from a sodaine apprehension of *Apollidonius* his pallace, and I find by effect, that they are the seely, and decayed peeces of my Kitchin-doore. Doe but heare one pronounce *Metonymia*, *Metaphore*, *Allegory*, *Etimologie*, and other such trash-names of Grammer, would you not thinke, they meant some forme of a rare and strange language; They are titles and words that concerne your chamber-maids tittle-tattle. It is a fopperie and cheating tricke, cousin-Germane unto this, to call the offices of our estate by the proud titles of the ancient Romans, though they have no resemblance at all of charge, and lesse of authoritie and power. And this likewise, which in mine opinion will one day remaine as a reproch unto our age, unworthily, and undeservedly to bestow on whom we list, the most glorious Surnames and loftiest titles, wherewith antiquitie in many long-continued ages honoured but one or two persons. *Plato* hath by such an universall consent borne-away the surname of Divine, that no man did ever attempt to envie him for it. And the Italians, which vaunt (and indeed with some reason) to have generally more lively, and farre reaching wits, and their discourse more sound and sinnowy, than other nations of their times,

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have lately therewith embellished *Peter Aretine;* in whom except it be an high-raised, proudly-pufft, mind-moving, and heart-danting manner of speech, yet in good sooth more than ordinarie, wittie and ingenious; But so new fangled, so extravagant, so fantasticall, so deep-laboured; and to conclud, besides the eloquence, which be it as it may be, I cannot perceive any thing in it, beyond or exceeding that of many other writers of his age, much lesse that it in any sort approacheth that ancient divinitie. And the surname Great, we attribute and fasten the same on Princes, that have nothing in them exceeding popular greatnesse.

The runaway ploughboy

Chap. LII

Of the parcimonie of our Forefathers

ATTILIUS REGULUS, Generall of the Romans armie in *Affrike*, in the middest of his glorie and victorie against the Carthaginians, writ unto the common-wealth, that a hyne or plough-boy, whom he had left alone to oversee and husband his land (which in all was but seven acres of ground) was run away from his charge, and had stolne from him all his implements and tools, belonging to his husbandrie, craving leave to be discharged, and that he might come home to looke to his businesse, for feare his wife and children should therby be endomaged: the

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Parsimonious Romans

Senate tooke order for him, and appointed another man to looke to his land and businesse, and made that good unto him, which the other had stolne from him, and appointed his wife and children to be maintained at the commonwealths charge. *Cato* the elder returning Consul from *Spaine*, sold his horse of service, to save the monie he should have spent for his transport by sea into *Italy*: And being chiefe governor in *Sardinia*, went all his visitations a foot, having no other traine, but one officer of the commonwelth, who carried his gowne, and a vessell to do sacrifice in, and for the most part carried his male himselfe. He boasted that he never woare gowne, that cost him more than ten crowns, nor sent more than one shilling sterling to the market for one whole daies provision, and had no Countrie house rough-cast or painted over. *Scipio Æmilianus*, after he had triumphed twice, and twice been Consull, went on a solemne Legation, accompanied and attended on only with seven servants. It is reported that *Homer* had never any more than one servant. *Plato* three, and *Zeno* chiefe of the Stoikes sect, none at all. *Tiberius Gracchus*, being then one of the principal men amongst the Romanes, and sent in commission about weightie matters of the common-wealth, was allotted but six-pence halfe-penie a day for his charges.

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CHAP. LIII

Of a saying of Cæsar

IF we shall sometimes ammuse our selves and consider our estate, and the time we spend in controling others, and to know the things that are without us; would we but emploie the same in sounding our selves throughly, we should easily perceive how all this our contexture is built of weake and decaying peeces. Is it not an especiall testimonie of imperfection, that we cannot settle our contentment on any one thing, and that even of our owne desire and imagination, it is beyond our power to chuse what we stand in need of? Whereof the disputation that hath ever beene amongst Philosophers beareth sufficient witnes, to finde out the chiefe felicitie or *summum bonum* of man, and which yet doth, and shall eternally last without resolution or agreement. Summum bonum

—dum abest quod avemus, id exuperare videtur
Cætera, post aliud cùm contigit illud avemus,
Et sitis æqua tenet.—LUCR. iii. 25.

While that is absent which we wish, the rest
That seemes to passe, when ought else is addrest,
That we desire, with equall thirst opprest.

Whatsoever it be that falleth into our knowledge and jovissance, we finde, it doth not satisfie us, and we still follow and gape after future, uncertaine, and unknowne things, because the present and knowne please us not, and doe not

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'Man never Is, but always To be blest'

satisfie us. Not (as I thinke) because they have not sufficiently wherewith to satiate and please us, but the reason is, that we apprehend and seize on them with an unruly, disordered, and diseased taste and hold-fast.

Nam cùm vidit hic ad usum quæ flagitat usus,
Omnia jam fermè mortalibus esse parata,
Divitiis homines et honore et laude potentes
Affluere, atque bonâ natorum excellere famâ,
Nec minus esse domi, cuiquam tamen anxia corda,
Atque animum infestis cogi servire querelis:
Intellexit ibi vitium vas facere ipsum,
Omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus
Quæ collata foris et commoda quæ que venirent.

—Lucr. ix.

For when the wiseman saw, that all almost,
That use requires, for men prepared was,
That men enriches, honors, praises boast,
In good report of children others passe,
Yet none at home did beare lesse pensive heart,
But that the minde was forst to serve complaint,
He knew, that fault the vessell did empart,
That all was marr'd within by vessels taint,
What ever good was wrought by any art.

Our appetite is irresolute, and uncertaine; it can neither hold nor enjoy any thing handsomly and after a good fashion. Man supposing it is the vice and fault of things he possesseth, feedeth and filleth himselfe with other things, which he neither knoweth, nor hath understanding of, whereto he applyeth both his desires and hopes, and taketh them as an honour and reverence to himselfe; as saith *Cæsar*, *Communi fit vitio naturæ, ut invisis, latitantibus atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur*

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(Cæs. *Bel. Civ.* ii.). *It happeth by the common fault of nature, that both wee are more confident, and more terrified by things unseene, things hidden, and unknowne.* **Vain inventions**

Chap. LIV

Of vaine Subtilties, or subtill Devices

THERE are certaine frivolous and vaine inventions, or as some call them, subtilties of wit, by meanes of which, some men doe often endevour to get credit and reputation: as divers Poets, that frame whole volumes with verses beginning with one letter: we see Egges, Wings, Hatchets, Crosses, Globes, Columnes, and divers other such like figures anciently fashioned by the Græcians, with the measure and proportion of their verses, spreading, lengthning, and shortning them, in such sort as they justly represent such and such a figure. Such was the science and profession of him, who long time busied himselfe, to number how many severall waies the letters of the Alphabet might be ranged, and found out that incredible number mentioned by *Plutarke.* I allow of his opinion, who having one brought before him, that was taught with such industrie, and so curiously to cast a graine of Millet with his hand, that without ever missing, he would every time make it goe through a needles-eye; and being entreated to bestow some thing upon him, (as a reward for so rare a

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Extremes meet and

skill,) verie pleasantly and worthily, commanded that this cunning workman should have two or three peckes of Millet delivered him, to the end his rare art and wittie labour might not remaine without daily exercise. It is a wonderfull testimonie of our judgements imbecilitie, that it should commend and allow of things, either for their rarenesse or noveltie, or for their difficultie, though neither goodnesse or profit be joyned unto them. We come but now from my house, where we have a while recreated our selves, with devising who could find out most things, that held by both extreme ends; As for example, *Sir*, is in our tongue a title only given to the most eminent person of our state, which is the King, and yet is commonly given to some of the vulgar sort, as unto Merchants and Pedlers, and nothing concerneth those of the middle sort, and that are betweene both. Women of chiefest calling and qualitie are called *Dames*, the meane sort *Damoisels*, and those of the basest ranke, are also entitled *Dames*. The clothes of estate, which we see set over tables and chaires, are only allowed in Princes houses, yet we see them used in Tavernes. *Democritus* was wont to say, *That Gods and beasts, had quicker senses and sharper wits than men, who are of the middle ranke.* The Romanes used to weare one selfe same garment on mourning and on festivall daies. It is most certaine, that both an extreme feare, and an exceeding heat of courage, doe equally trouble and distemper the belly. The nickname of *Tremblant*, wherewith *Zanchio* the twelfth

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King of *Navarre* was surnamed, teacheth, that boldnesse, aswel as feare, engender a startling and shaking of the limbs. Those which armed, either him, or any other of like nature, whose skin would quiver, assaied to re-assure him, by diminishing the danger wherein he was like to fall; you have no perfect knowledge of me (said he,) for if my flesh knew how far my courage will ere-long carrie it, it would presently fall into a flat swoune. That chilnesse, or as I may terme it, faintnesse, which we feele after the exercises of *Venus*, the same doth also proceed of an over vehement appetite and disordered heat. Excessive heat and extreme cold do both boile and rost. *Aristotle* saith, *That leaden vessels doe as well melt and consume away by an excessive cold and rigor of winter, as by a vehement heat.* Both desire and satietie fill the seats with sorrow, both above and under voluptuousnesse. Folly and wisdome meet in one point of feeling and resolution, about the suffering of humane accidents. The wiser sort doth gourmondise and command evill, and others know it not. The latter, (as a man would say) short of accidents, the other, beyond. Who after they have well weighed and considered their qualities, and duly measured, and rightly judged what they are, over-leap them by the power of a vigorous courage. They disdaine and tread them under foot, as having a strong and solide mind, against which, if fortunes [darts] chance to light, they must of necessitie be blunted and abated, meeting with so resist-

produce similar effects

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The wise and the simple

ing a body, as they cannot pierce, or make any impression therein. The ordinarie and meane condition of men abideth betweene these two extremities; which are those that perceive and have a feeling of mischiefes, but cannot endure them. Both infancie and decrepitude meet with weaknesse of the braine. Covetise and profusion in a like desire to acquire and hoard up. It may with likelyhood be spoken, that there is a kind of *Abecedarie* ignorance, preceding science: another doctorall, following science: an ignorance, which science doth beget: even as it spoileth the first. Of simple, lesse-curious, and least-instructed spirits are made good Christians, who simply beleeve through reverence and obedience, and are kept in awe of the lawes. In the meane vigor of spirits, and slender capacitie is engendred the error of opinions: They follow the apparance of the first sense; and have some title to interpret it foolishnesse and sottishnesse, that we are confirmed in ancient waies, respecting us, that are nothing therein instructed by study. The best, most-setled, and clearest-seeing spirits, make another sort of well-beleevers, who by long and religious investigation, penetrate a more profound, and find out a more abstruse light in scriptures, and discover the mysterious and divine secrets of our ecclesiasticall policie. And therefore see we some of them, that have reached unto this last ranke, by the second, with wonderfull fruit and confirmation; as unto the furthest bounds of Christian intelligence: and injoy their

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victorie with comfort, thanks-giving, reformation of manners, and great modesty. In which ranke, my purpose is not to place these others, who to purge themselves from the suspicion of their fore-passed errors, and the better to assure us of them, become extreme, indiscreet, and unjust in the conduct of our cause, and tax and taint the same with infinit reproches of violence. The simple peasants are honest men; so are Philosophers, (or as our time nameth them, strong and cleare natures) enriched with a large instruction of profitable sciences. The mongrell sort of husband-men, who have disdained the first forme of ignorance of letters, and could never reach unto the other (as they that sit betweene two stooles, of which besides so many others I am one) are dangerous, peevish, foolish, and importunate, and they which trouble the world most. Therefore doe I (as much as lieth in me) withdraw my selfe into the first and naturall seat, whence I never assaied to depart. Popular and meerely naturall Poesie hath certaine graces, and in-bred livelinesse, whereby it concurreth and compareth it selfe unto the principall beautie of perfect and artificiall Poesie, as may plainly be seene in the *Villannelles*, homely gigs, and countrie songs of *Gasconie*, which are brought unto us from Nations that have no knowledge at all, either of any learning, or so much as of writing. Meane and indifferent Poesie, and that consisteth betweene both, is scorned, and contemned, and passeth without honour or esteeme. But forasmuch as since the passage hath beene opened unto the

Between two stools

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Perhaps the Essays please best average minds

spirit, I have found (as it commonly hapneth) that we had apprehended that which is neither so nor so for a difficult exercise, and of a rare subject; And that since our invention hath beene set on fire, it discovereth an infinit number of like examples; I will onely adde this one: That if these Essayes were worthy to be judged of, it might in mine opinion happen, that they would not greatly please the common and vulgar spirits, and as little the singular and excellent. The first will understand but little of them, the latter over much; they might perhaps live and rub out in the middle region.

Chap. LV

Of Smels and Odors

IT is reported of some, namely of *Alexander*, that their sweat, through some rare and extraordinary complexion, yeelded a sweet smelling savour; whereof *Plutarke* and others seeke to finde out the cause. But the common sort of bodies are cleane contrarie, and the best qualitie they have, is to be cleare of any smell at all. The sweetnesse of the purest breaths hath nothing more perfect in them, than to bee without savour, that may offend us: as are those of healthy sound children. And therefore saith *Plautus;*

> *Mulier tum benè, olet, ubi nihil olet.*
> —Plau. *Mostel.* act. i. sc. 3.
>
> Then smel's a woman purely well,
> When she of nothing else doth smell.

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The most exquisit and sweetest savour of a woman, it is to smell of nothing; and sweet, well-smelling, strange savours, may rightly be held suspicious in such as use them; and a man may lawfully thinke, that who useth them, doth it to cover some naturall defect: whence proceed these ancient Poeticall sayings. *To smell sweet, is to stinke,* **Montaigne loves sweet smells**

Rides nos Coracine nil olentes,
Malo quam benè olere, nil olere,
—MART. vi. *Epig.* lv. 4.

You laugh at us that we of nothing savour,
Rather smell so, than sweeter (by your favour).

And else where.

Posthume non benè olet, qui benè semper olet.
—ii. *Epig.* xii. 4.

Good sir, he smels not ever sweet,
Who smels still sweeter than is meet.

Yet love I greatly to be entertained with sweet smels, and hate exceedingly all manner of sowre and ill savours, which I shall sooner smell, than any other.

—Namque sagacius unus odoror,
Polypus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quàm canis acer ubi lateat sus.—HOR. *Epod.* xii. 4.

Sooner smell I, whether a cancred nose,
Or ranke gote-smell in hairie arme-pits lie,
Than sharpest hounds, where rowting bores repose.

The simplest and meerely-naturall smels are most pleasing unto me; which care ought chiefly to concerne women. In the verie heart of *Bar-*

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Montaigne's moustaches

barie, the Scithian women, after they had washed themselves, did sprinkle, dawbe, and powder all their bodies and faces over, with a certaine odoriferous drug, that groweth in their Countrie: which dust and dawbing being taken away, when they come neere men, or their husbands, they remaine verie cleane, and with a verie sweet-savouring perfume. What odor soever it be, it is strange to see, what hold it will take on me, and how apt my skin is to receive it. He that complaineth against nature, that she hath not created man with a fit instrument, to carrie sweet smels fast-tied to his nose, is much to blame: for, they carrie themselves. As for me in particular, my mostachoes, which are verie thicke, serve me for that purpose. Let me but approach my gloves or my hand-kercher to them, their smell will sticke upon them a whole day. They manifest the place I come from. The close-smacking, sweetnesse - moving, love - alluring, and greedi-smirking kisses of youth, were heretofore wont to sticke on them many houres after; yet am I little subject to those popular diseases, that are taken by conversation, and bred by the contagion of the ayre: And I have escaped those of my time, of which there hath beene many and severall kinds, both in the Townes about me, and in our Armie. We read of *Socrates*, that during the time of many plagues and relapses of the pestilence, which so often infested the Citie of *Athens*, he never forsooke or went out of the Towne: yet was he the only man, that was never infected, or that felt any

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sicknesse. Physitians might (in mine opinion) draw more use and good from odours, than they doe. For, my selfe have often perceived, that according unto their strength and qualitie, they change and alter, and move my spirits, and worke strange effects in me: which makes me approve the common saying, that the invention of incense and perfumes in Churches, so ancient and so far-dispersed throughout all nations and religions, had an especiall regard to rejoyce, to comfort, to quicken, to rowze, and to purifie our senses, that so we might be the apter and readier unto contemplation. And the better to judge of it, I would I had my part of the skill, which some Cookes have, who can so curiously season and temper strange odors with the savour and rellish of their meats. As it was especially observed in the service of the King of *Tunes*, who in our dayes landed at *Naples*, to meet and enter-parly with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. His viands were so exquisitely farced, and so sumptuously seasoned with sweet odoriferous drugs, and aromaticall spices, that it was found upon his booke of accompt, the dressing of one peacocke, and two fesants amounted to one hundred duckets; which was their ordinarie manner of cooking his meats. And when they were carved up, not only the dining chambers, but all the roomes of his pallace, and the streets round about it were replenished with an exceeding odoriferous and aromaticall vapour, which continued a long time after. The principall care I take, wheresoever I am lodged, is to avoid, and be far from all manner

Incense and spices

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Montaigne submits himself to the Church

of filthy, foggy, ill-savouring, and unwholsome aires. These goodly Cities of strangely-seated *Venice*, and huge-built *Paris*, by reason of the muddy, sharp, and offending savors, which they yeeld; the one by her fennie and marish situation, the other by her durtie uncleannesse, and continuall mire, do greatly alter and diminish the favour which I beare them.

Chap. LVI

Of Praiers and Orisons

I PROPOSE certaine formelesse and irresolute fantasies, as do those schollers, who in schooles publish doubtfull and sophisticall questions to be disputed and canvased: not to establish the truth, but to find it out: which I submit to their judgements, to whom the ordering and directing, not only of my actions and compositions, but also of my thoughts, belongeth. The condemnation, as well as the approbation of them, will be equally acceptable and profitable unto me, deeming it absurd and impious, if any thing be, either ignorantly, or unadvisedly set downe in this rapsody, contrarie unto the sacred resolutions, and repugnant to the holy prescriptions of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane Church, wherein I was borne, and out of which I purpose not to die. And therefore alwaies referring my selfe unto their censures that have all power over me, doe I meddle so rashly, to write of all manner of purposes and discourses, as I

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doe here. I wot not whether I be deceived, but sithence, by an especiall and singular favour of Gods divine bountie, a certaine forme of Praier, hath by the very mouth of God, word by word been prescribed and directed unto us, I have ever thought the use of it, should be more ordinarie with us, than it is. And might I be believed, both rising and going to bed, sitting downe and rising from boord, and going about any particular action or businesse, I would have all good Christians, to say the *Pater noster*, and if no other praier, at least not to omit that. The Church may extend, amplifie, and diversifie praiers according to the need of our instruction: For, I know it is alwaies the same substance, and the same thing. But that one should ever have this privilege, that all manner of people, should at all times, and upon every occasion have it in their mouth: For, it is most certaine, that only it containeth whatsoever we want, and is most fit, and effectuall in all events. It is the onely praier I use in every place, at all times, and upon every accident; and in stead of changing, I use often repetition of it: whence it commeth to passe, that I remember none so well as that one. I was even now considering, whence this generall errour commeth, that in all our desseignes and enterprises, of what nature soever, we immediatly have recourse unto God, and in every necessitie, we call upon his holy name: And at what time soever we stand in need of any help, and that our weaknesse wanteth assistance, we only invoke him, without considering whether the

Pater noster

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Injurious belief concerning God

occasion be just or unjust; and what estate or action we be in, or goe about, be it never so vicious or unlawfull, we call upon his name and power. Indeed, he is our only protector, and of power to affoord us all manner of help and comfort; but although he vouchsafe to honour us with this joy-bringing fatherly adoption, yet is he as just as he is good; and as good and just, as he is mightie: But oftner useth his justice than his might, and favoureth us according to the reason of the same, and not according to our requests. *Plato* in his lawes maketh three sorts of injurious beliefe in the Gods: First, that there is none at all; Secondly, that they meddle not with our affaires; Thirdly, that they never refuse any thing unto our vowes, offerings, and sacrifices. The first errour, according to his opinion, did never continue immutable in man, even from his first infancie unto his latter age. The two succeeding may admit some constancie. His justice and power are inseparable. It is but in vaine to implore his power in a bad cause. Man must have an unpolluted soule when he praieth (at least in that moment he addresseth himselfe to pray) and absolutely free from all vicious passions; otherwise we our selves present him the rods to scourge us withall. In liew of redressing our fault, we redouble the same, by presenting him with an affection fraught with irreverence, sinne, and hatred, to whom only we should sue for grace and forgivenesse. Loe here, why I doe not willingly commend those Pharisaicall

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humours, whom I so often behold, and more than ordinarie, to pray unto God, except their actions immediately preceding or succeeding their praiers witnesse some shew of reformation or hope of amendment. Lip service

—Si nocturnus adulter
Tempora sanctonico velas adoperta cucullo.
—JUVEN. *Sat.* viii. 144.

If in a cape-cloake-hood befrenchifide
Thou a night-whore-munger thy head dost hide.

And the state of a man that commixeth devotion unto an execrable life, seemeth in some sort to be more condemnable, than that of one, that is conformable unto himselfe, and every way dissolute. Therefore doth our Church continually refuse, the favour of her enterance and societie, unto customes and manners, wilfully-obstinate on some egregious villanie. We only pray by custome and use, and for fashion sake, or to say better, we but reade and pronounce our prayers: To conclude, it is nothing but a shew of formalitie, and a formall shew. And it greeveth me to see many men, who at grace before and after meat, will with great shew of devotion, crosse themselves three or foure times, (and it vexeth me so much the more, when I call to mind, that it is a signe I greatly reverence, and have in continual use, yea, if I be but gaping) and there whilst, shall you see them bestow all other houres of the day in all maner of hatred, malice, covetousnesse, and injustice. Many houres spend they about vice, but one to

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The canker at the heart

God, and that as it were by way of recompence and composition. It is wonderous to see, so far different and divers actions, continue with so even a tenor, that no interruption or alteration at all can be perceived, either about their confines, or passage from one unto another. What prodigious conscience can be at any harts-ease, fostring, and feeding with so mutuall, quiet, and agreeing society in one selfe same mansion, both crime and judge? A man whose *Paillardize* and luxurie, doth uncessantly sway and rule the head, and who judgeth the same abhominable and most hatefull in the sight of God; what saith he unto his all-seeing Majesty, when he openeth his lips, either of mouth or hart, to speake to him of it? He reclaimeth himselfe, but falleth sodainly againe. *If the object of his divine justice, and his presence should strike,* (as he saith) *and chastise his soule, how short-soever the penitence were; feare it self would so often cast his thought on it, that he would presently perceive himselfe master of those vices, which are habituated, inbred, setled, and enfleshed in him.* But what of those, which ground a whole life upon the fruit and benefit of that sinne, they know to be mortall? How many trades, professions, occupations, and vocations, have we daily and continually used, frequented, and allowed amongst us, whose essence is vicious and most pernicious? And he that would needs confesse himselfe unto me, and of his owne accord told me, that for feare of losing his credit, and to keepe the honour of his offices; he had for a whole age, made shew and pro-

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fession, and acted the effects of a religion, which in his owne selfe-accusing conscience, he judged damnable, and cleane contrarie unto that he had in his hart: How could he admit and foster so contradictorie and impious a discourse in his hart? With what language entertaine they divine justice concerning this subject? Their repentance, consisting in visible amends, and manageable reparation; they lose both towards God and us, the meanes to alleage the same. Are they so malapart and fond-hardy as to crave pardon without satisfaction, and sans repentance? I thinke it goeth with the first, as with these last: But obstinacie is not herein so easie to be vanquished. This so suddaine contrarietie, and violent volubilitie of opinion, which they faine unto us, seemeth to me a miracle. They present us with the state of an indigestible agonie. How fantasticall seemed their imagination unto me, who these latter yeares had taken up a fashion, to checke and reprove all men, that professed the Catholike Religion, in whom shined any extraordinarie brightnesse of spirit, saying, that it was but fained: and to doe him honour, held, that whatsoever he said in apparance, he could not inwardly chuse but have his beliefe reformed according to their byase. It is a peevish infirmitie, for a man to thinke himselfe so firmely grounded, as to perswade himselfe, that the contrarie may not be believed: And more peevish also, to be perswaded by such a spirit, that preferreth I wot not what disparitie of

The virtue of works

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Sursum corda

fortune, before the hopes and threats of eternall life. They may beleeve me: If any thing could have [tempted] my youth, the ambition of the hazard, and difficultie, which followed this late-moderne enterprize, should have had good part therein. It is not without great reason, in my poore judgement, that the Church forbiddeth the confused, rash and indiscreet use of the sacred and divine songs, which the holy spirit hath indited unto *David*. God ought not to be commixed in our actions, but with awful reverence, and an attention full of honour and respect. The word or voice is too divine, having no other use but to exercise our lungs, and to please our eares. It is from the conscience and not from the tongue that it must proceed. It is not consonant unto reason, that a prentise or shop-keeping boy, amiddest his idle, vaine, and frivolous conceits, should be suffered to entertaine himselfe, and play therewith. Nor is it seemely, or tolerable, to see the sacred booke of our beliefes-Mysteries, tossed up and downe and plaid withall, in a shop, or a hall, or a kitchin. They have heretofore beene accompted mysteries, but through the abuse of times, they are now held as sports and recreations. So serious, and venerable a study should not, by way of pastime, and tumultuarie be handled. It ought to be a fixed, a purposed, and setled action, to which this preface of our office *sursum corda* should ever be adjoyned; and the very exterior parts of the body, should with such a countenance, be referred unto it, that to all mens eyes it may

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witnesse a particular attention and duteous respect. It is not a study fitting all men, but only such as have vowed themselves unto it, and whom God hath, of his infinit mercie, called thereto. The wicked, the ungodly, and the ignorant are thereby empaired. It is no historie to be fabulously reported, but a historie to be dutifully reverenced, awfully feared, and religiously adored. Are they not pleasantly conceited, who because they have reduced the same into the vulgar tongues, and that all men may understand it, perswade themselves, that the people shall the better conceive and digest the same? Consisteth it but in the words, that they understand not all they find written? Shall I say more? By approaching thus little unto it, they goe backe from it. Meere ignorance, and wholy relying on others, was verily more profitable and wiser, than is this verball, and vaine knowledge, the nurse of presumption, and sourse of temeritie. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the uncontrouled libertie, that all men have to wrest, dissipate, and wyre-draw a word so religious, and important, to so many severall idiomes, hath much more danger than profit following it. The Jewes, the Mahometans, and well-nigh all other nations, are wedded unto, and reverence the language, wherein their mysteries and religion had originally beene conceived; and any change or translation hath not without apparance of reason beene directly forbidden. Know we whether there be Judges enow in *Basque* and in *Brittanie* to establish this

Danger of Scripture in the vulgar tongue

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Avoid all heresy and schism

translation made in their tongue? The universall Church hath no more difficult and solemne judgement to make. Both in speaking and preaching the interpretation is wandring, free, and mutable, and of one parcell; so is it not alike. One of our Græcian Historians doth justly accuse his age, forasmuch as the secrets of Christian religion were dispersed in all publike places, and even amongst the basest artificers; and that every man might, at his pleasure, dispute of it, and at randon speake his mind of the same. And it should be a great shame for us, who by the unspeakable grace of God injoy the pure and sacred mysteries of piety, to suffer the same to be profaned in the mouthes of ignorant and popular people, seeing the very Gentiles interdicted *Socrates* and *Plato*, and the wisest, to meddle, enquire or speake of things committed unto the Priestes of *Delphos*. Saying moreover, *That the factions of Princes, touching the subject of Divinitie, are armed, not with zeale, but with anger. That zeale dependeth of divine reason and justice, holding an orderly and moderate course, but that it changeth into hatred and envie, and in stead of corne and grape, it produceth nettles and darnell, if it be directed by humane passion.* And justly saith this other, who counselling the Emperour *Theodosius*, affirmed *that disputations did not so much appease and lull asleepe the schismes of the Church, as stir up and cause heresies.* And therefore it behooved, to avoid all contentions, controversies, and logicall arguings, and wholy and sincerely refer himselfe

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unto the prescriptions and orders of faith, established by our forefathers. And *Andronicus* the Emperour, finding by chance in his pallace, certaine principall men very earnestly disputing against *Lapodius*, about one of our points of great importance, taunted and rated them very bitterly, and threatned if they gave not over, he would cause them to be cast into the river. Children and women doe now adaies governe and sway the oldest and most experienced men concerning Ecclesiasticall Lawes: whereas the first that *Plato* made, forbiddeth them to enquire after the reason of civill Lawes, and which ought to stand in place of divine ordinances. Allowing aged men to communicate the same amongst themselves, and with the Magistrate, adding more-over, alwaies provided it be not in the presence of young men, and before profane persons. A notable Bishop hath left written, that in the other end of the world, there is an Iland called of our predecessours *Dioscorida*, very commodious, and fertile of all sorts of fruits and trees, and of a pure and wholesome ayre; whose people are Christians, and have Churches and Altars; adorned with nothing else but crosses, without other images; great observers of fastings and holy daies; exact payers of their priests tithes; and so chaste, that none of them may lawfully all his life long know any more than one wife. And in all other matters so well pleased with their fortune, that being seated in the middest of the sea, they have and know no use of ships: and so simple, that of their religion,

The Isle of Socotra

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Religion should be spoken and

which they so diligently and awfully observe, they know not, nor understand so much as one only word. A thing incredible, to him that knew not how the Pagans, who are so devout and zealous idolaters, know nothing of their Gods, but only their bare names and statues. The ancient beginning of *Menalippe*, a tragedie of *Euripides*, importeth thus.

> *O Jupiter, car de toy rien sinon,*
> *Je ne cognois seulement que le nom.*—EURIP.
>
> O *Jupiter*, for unto me,
> Only the name is knowne of thee.

I have also in my time heard certaine writings complained of, forsomuch as they are meerly humane and Philosophicall, without medling with divinitie. He that should say to the contrarie (which a man might doe with reason) that heavenly doctrine, as a Queene and governesse doth better keepe her ranke apart; that she ought to be chiefe ruler and principall head evere where, and not suffragant and subsidiarie. And that peradventure examples in Grammar, Rethorike, and Logike, might more fitly and sortably be taken from elsewhere, than from so sacred and holy a subject, as also the arguments of theatres, plots of plaies, and grounds of publike spectacles. That mysteriously divine reasons are more venerably and reverently considered alone, and in their native stile, than joyned and compared to humane discourse. That this fault is oftner seene, which is, that Divines write too humanely, than this other, that humanists write

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not Theologically enough. *Philosophy*, saith S. *Chrysostome, is long since banished from sacred schools, as an unprofitable servant, and deemed unworthy to behold, but in passing by the entrie, or the vestrie of the sacred treasures of heavenly doctrine.* That the formes of humane speech, are more base, and ought by no meanes to make any use of the dignitie, majesty and preheminence of divine speech. As for my part, I give it leave to say, *Verbis indisciplinatis, with undisciplined words*, Fortune, destinie, chance, accident, fate, good lucke, ill lucke, the Gods, and other phrases, as best it pleaseth. I propose humane fantasies and mine owne, simply as humane conceits, and severally considered; not as setled, concluded, and directed by celestiall ordinance, incapable of any doubt or alteration. A matter of opinion, and not of faith. What I discourse according to my selfe, not what I beleeve according unto God, with a laicall fashion, and not a clericall manner; yet ever most religious. As children propose their essayes, instructable, not instructing. And might not a man also say without apparance, that the institution, which willeth, no man shall dare to write of Religion, but sparingly, and reservedly, except such as make expresse profession of it, would not want some shew of profit and justice; and happily to me to be silent. It hath beene told me, that even those which are not of our consent, doe flatly inhibite amongst themselves the use of the sacred name of God in all their vulgar and familiar discourses. They would have no man use

written of but sparingly

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Vain and vicious

it as an interjection, or exclamation, nor to be alleaged as a witnesse, or comparison; wherein I find they have reason. And howsoever it be, that we call God to our commerce and societie, it should be zealously, seriously, and religiously There is (as far as I remember) such a like discourse in *Xenophon*, wherein he declareth, *That we should more rarely pray unto God: forasmuch as it is not easie, we should so often settle our minds in so regular, so reformed, and so devout a seat, where indeed it ought to be, to pray aright and effectually: otherwise* our praiers are, not only vaine and unprofitable, but vicious. *Forgive us (say we) our offences, as we forgive them that trespasse against us.* What else inferre we by that petition, but that we offer him our soule void of all revenge and free from all rancour? We neverthelesse invoke God and call on his aid, even in the complot of our grievousest faults, and desire his assistance in all manner of injustice and iniquitie.

> *Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere divis.*
> —Pers. *Sat.* ii. 4.
>
> Which you to Saints not drawne aside,
> Would thinke unfit to be applide.

The covetous man sueth and praieth unto him for the vaine increase and superfluous preservation of his wrong-gotten treasure. The ambitious, he importuneth God for the conduct of his fortune, and that he may have the victorie of all his deseignes. The theefe, the pirate, the murtherer, yea and the traitor, all call upon him, all implore

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his aid, and all solicite him, to give them courage in their attempts, constancie in their resolutions, to remove all lets and difficulties, that in any sort may withstand their wicked executions, and impious actions; or give him thanks, if they have had good successe; the one if he have met with a good bootie, the other if he returne home rich, the third if no man have seen him kill his enemie, and the last, though he have caused any execrable mischiefe. The Souldier, if he but goe to besiege a cottage, to scale a Castle, to rob a Church, to pettard a gate, to force a religious house, or any villanous act, before he attempt it, praieth to God for his assistance, though his intents and hopes be full-fraught with crueltie, murther, covetise, luxurie, sacri-lege, and all iniquitie. invocations of God

Hoc ipsum quo tu Jovis aurem impellere tentas,
Dic agedum, Staio, proh Jupiter, ô bone, clamet,
Jupiter, at sese non clamet Jupiter ipse.
—21.

Go-to then, say the same to some bad fellow,
Which thou prepar'st for Gods eares. let him bellow,
O God, good God; so God,
On himselfe would not plod.

Margaret Queene of *Navarre*, maketh mention of a young Prince (whom although she name not expresly, yet his greatnesse hath made him sufficiently knowne) who going about an amorous assignation, and to lie with an Advocates wife of *Paris*, his way lying alongst a Church, he did never passe by so holy a place, whether it were

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Secret prayers

in going or comming from his lecherie, and cukolding-labour, but would make his praiers unto God, to be his help and furtherance. I would faine have any impartiall man tell me, to what purpose this Prince invoked and called on God for his divine favour, having his mind only bent to sinne, and his thoughts set on luxurie: Yet doth she alleage him for a speciall testimonie of singular devotion. But it is not only by this example, a man might verifie, that women are not very fit to manage or treat matters of Religion and Divinitie. A true and hartie praier, and an unfained religious reconciliation from us unto God, cannot likely fall into a wicked and impure soule, especially when Sathan swaieth the same. He that calleth upon God for his assistance, whilst he is engulphed and wallowing in filthy sinne, doth as the cut-purse, that should call for justice unto his ayd, or those that produce God in witnesse of a lie.

—tacito mala vota susurro
Concipimus.—LUCAN. v. 94.

With silent whispering we,
For ill things suppliants be.

There are few men, that would dare to publish the secret requests they make to God.

Haud cuivis promptum est, murmur que humilesque
susurros
Tollere de Templis, et aperto vivere voto.
—PERS. *Sat.* ii. 6.

From Church low-whispering murmurs to expell,
T'is not for all, or with knowne vowes live well.

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And that's the reason, why the Pythagorians would have them publike, that all might heare them, that no man should abusively call on God, and require any undecent or unjust thing of him, as that man; Vain repetitions

—clarè cùm dixit, Apollo,
Labra movet metuens audiri: pulchra Laverna
Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.
Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.
—Hor. l. *Epist.* xvi. 59.

When he slowd hath said, *Apollo* heare,
Loth to be heard, Goddesse of theeves, said he,
Grant me to cousen, and yet just appeare,
My faults in night, my fraud's in clouds let be.

The Gods did grievously punish the impious vowes of *Oedipus*, by granting them unto him. His praier was, that his children might betweene themselves decide in armes the succession of his estate; he was so miserable, as to be taken at his word. A man should not request that all things follow our will, but that it may follow wisdome. Verily, it seemeth, that we make no other use of our praiers, than of a companie of gibrish phrases: And as those who employ holy and sacred words about witchcraft and magicall effects; and that we imagine their effect dependeth of the contexture, or sound, or succession of words, or from our countenance. For, our soule, being full-fraught with concupiscence, and all manner of ungodly thoughts, nothing touched with repentance, nor moved with new reconciliation towards God, we headlong present unto him those heedlesse words, which

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The law of God

memorie affoordeth our tongue, by which we hope to obtaine an expiation and remission of our offences. There is nothing so easie, so sweet, so comfortable and favourable, as the law of God; she (of his infinit mercie) calleth us unto him, how faultie and detestable soever we be; she gently stretcheth forth her armes unto us, and mildly receiveth us into her lap, how guiltie, polluted, and sinfull soever we are, and may be in after-times. But in recompence of so boundlesse and unspeakable a favour, she must be thankfully accepted, and cheerfully regarded: and so gracious a pardon must be received with a gratitude of the soule, and at least, in that instant, that we addresse our selves unto her presence; to have our soule grieved for her faults, penitent of her sinnes, hating those passions and affections, that have caused or provoked us to transgresse his lawes, to offend his Majestie, and to breake his commandements. *Plato* saith, *That neither the Gods, nor honest men will ever accept the offering of a wicked man.*

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollivit aversos Penates,
Farre pio et saliente mica.

—iii. *Od.* xxiii. 17.

If guiltlesse hand the Altar tuch,
No offring, cost it ne're so much,
Shall better please our God offended,
Than corne with crackling-corne-salt blended.

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CHAP. LVII

Of Age

I CANNOT receive that manner, whereby we establish the continuance of our life. I see that some of the wiser sort doe greatly shorten the same, in respect of the common opinion. What said *Cato Junior*, to those who sought to hinder him from killing himselfe? *Doe I now live the age, wherein I may justly be reproved to leave my life too soone?* Yet was he but eight and fortie yeares old. He thought that age very ripe, yea, and well advanced, considering how few men come unto it. And such as entertaine themselves with, I wot not what kind of course, which they call naturall, promiseth some few yeares beyond, might do it, had they a privilege that could exempt them from so great a number of accidents, unto which each one of us stands subject by a naturall subjection, and which may interrupt the said course, they propose unto themselves. What fondnesse is it, for a man to thinke he shall die, for, and through, a failing and defect of strength, which extreme age draweth with it, and to propose that terme unto our life, seeing it is the rarest kind of all deaths, and least in use? We only call it naturall, as if it were against nature to see a man breake his necke with a fall; to be drowned by shipwracke; to be surprised with a

What is a 'natural' term of life?

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To die of age is rare

pestilence, or pleurisie, and as if our ordinarie condition did not present these inconveniences unto us all. Let us not flatter our selves with these fond-goodly words; a man may peradventure rather call that naturall, which is generall, common and universall. To die of age, is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much lesse naturall than others: It is the last and extremest kind of dying: The further it is from us, so much the lesse is it to be hoped for: Indeed it is the limit, beyond which we shal not passe, and which the law of nature hath prescribed unto us, as that which should not be outgone by any; but it is a rare privilege peculiar unto her selfe, to make us continue unto it. It is an exemption, which through some particular favour she bestoweth on some one man, in the space of two or three ages, discharging him from the crosses, troubles, and difficulties, she hath enterposed betweene both, in this long cariere and pilgrimage. Therefore my opinion is, to consider, that the age unto which we are come, is an age whereto few arive: since men come not unto it by any ordinarie course, it is a signe we are verie forward. And since we have past the accustomed bounds, which is the true measure of our life, we must not hope, that we shall goe much further. Having escaped so many occasions of death, wherein we see the world to fall, we must acknowledge that such an extraordinarie fortune, as that is, which maintaineth us, and is beyond the common use, is not likely to continue long. It is a fault of the verie lawes,

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to have this false imagination: They allow not a man to be capable and of discretion, to manage and dispose of his owne goods, untill he be five and twentie yeares old, yet shall he hardly preserve the state of his life so long. *Augustus* abridged five yeares of the ancient Romane Lawes, and declared, that for any man that should take upon him the charge of judgement, it sufficed to be thirtie yeares old. *Servius Tullius* dispensed with the Knights, who were seven and fortie yeares of age, from all voluntarie services of warre. *Augustus* brought them to fortie and five. To send men to their place of sojourning before they be five and fiftie or three score yeares of age, me seemeth, carrieth no great apparance with it. My advice would be, that our vacation, and employment should be extended, as far as might be for the publike commoditie; but I blame some, and condemne most, that we begin not soone enough to employ our selves. The same *Augustus* had been universall and supreme judge of the world, when he was but nineteene yeares old, and would have another to be thirtie, before he shall bee made a competent Judge of a cottage or farme. As for my part, I thinke our minds are as full growne and perfectly joynted at twentie yeares, as they should be, and promise as much as they can. A mind which at that age hath not given some evident token or earnest of her sufficiencie, shall hardly give it afterward; put her to what triall you list. Natural qualities and vertues, if they have any vigorous or beauteous thing in them,

Coming of age

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Life before thirty years of age

will produce and shew the same within that time, or never. They say in Daulphiné,

Si l'espine nou picque quand nai,
A peine que picque jamai.—French prov.
A thorne, unlesse at first it pricke,
Will hardly ever pearce to th' quicke.

Of all humane honourable and glorious actions, that ever came unto my knowledge, of what nature soever they be, I am perswaded, I should have a harder taske, to number those, which both in ancient times, and in ours, have beene produced and atchieved before the age of thirtie yeares, than such as were performed after: yea, often in the life of the same men. May not I boldly speak it of those of *Hanniball*, and *Scipio* his great adversarie? They lived the better part of their life with the glorie which they had gotten in their youth: And though afterward they were great men, in respect of all others, yet were they but meane in regard of themselves. As for my particular, I am verily perswaded, that since that age, both my spirit and my body, have more decreased than encreased, more recoyled than advanced. It may be, that knowledge and experience shall encrease in them, together with life, that bestow their time well; but vivacitie, promptitude, constancie, and other parts much more our owne, more important and more essentiall, they droope, they languish, and they faint.

—ubi jam validis quassatum est viribus ævi
Corpus, et obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,
Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaquè mensque.
—Lucr. iii. 457.

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When once the body by shrewd strength of yeares
Is shak't, and limmes drawne downe from strength that weares,
Wit halts, both tongue and mind
Doe daily doat, we find.

Work should begin earlier in life

It is the body, which sometimes yeeldeth first unto age; and other times the mind: and I have seene many, that have had their braines weakned before their stomacke or legges. And forasmuch, as it is a disease, little or nothing sensible unto him that endureth it, and maketh no great shew, it is so much the more dangerous. Here I exclaime against our Lawes, not because they leave us so long, and late in working and employment, but that they set us a worke no sooner, and it is so late before we be employed. Me thinkes that considering the weaknesse of our life, and seeing the infinit number of ordinarie rockes, and naturall dangers it is subject unto, we should not so soone as we come into the world, alot so great a share thereof unto unprofitable wantonnesse in youth, il-breeding idlenesse, and slow-learning prentissage.

The end of the first Booke.

END OF VOL. II.

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The present issue of Florio's *translation of* "Montaigne's Essays" *has been edited by* Mr. A. R. Waller, *who has revised the text, and added the Marginalia, Glossary, and Notes.*

I. G.

Shrove Tuesday, 1897.

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NOTES

Frontispiece.—The portrait of Montaigne in photogravure is after the engraving of Thomas de Leu.

Texts.—The three Folios of Florio are indicated in the Notes thus: A = 1603; B = 1613; C = 1632. M = Montaigne.

Additions, etc.—As in the case of vol. i. of this edition and of the subsequent volumes, the additions and corrections given below are intended as suggestions towards a closer reading of Montaigne's text. A few examples of Florio's amplifications will be given, together with details as to the various French texts, in the Bibliographical Note in vol. vi.

Page

2. *who with . . . the world*, which shall honour all the rest of this work.
2. *But it . . . mans view*, But there remains nothing of his save this treatise.
2. *edict of Januarie:* 1562, allowing the Huguenots liberty of worship.
3. *finde their deserved praise*, find their place.
5. *may*, A; many, B and C.
7. *passe her points farre under it*, fly on a lower plane.
8. *were*, A; where, B and C.
9. *then*, A and B; than, C.
10. *description in*, description of; that is to say, of a kind of friendship more just and more equal than that of which M. has just spoken.—*Coste.*
11. lines 2 and 3. The sentence should end at "heavens": there should be no break at "names."

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12. *rather friends than Citizens, rather friends than enemies*, rather friends than Citizens, rather friends of one another than friends or enemies.
13. *his intentions . . . of mine*, the intentions and judgments of my friend.
15. *that he*, A; tha the, B; that the, C.
16. *he is not double*, "qu'il ne soit double," M.; he is double, A, B, and C.
17. *inimaginable* (= not to be imagined), A; imaginable, B and C.
19. *night*, nuict, M.; light, A, B, and C.
21. *sixteene yeares*. It is probable that the correct reading of M., though the texts vary, should be *eighteen*.
21. *this worke:* Boëtie's treatise *de la Servitude volontaire*, which was printed for the first time in 1578. There should be a decided break between lines 26 and 27. M. decides finally not to print here (line 27) the "Voluntary Servitude" which just above (line 26) he was preparing to give.
22. *other best ages*, other centuries than these.
22. *set you downe another*. The writings promised are the twenty-nine sonnets of Boëtie referred to in the next chapter.
22. *pithie . . . consequence*, blithe and jocund.
24. *martiall*, A; martiall, B and C.
24. *nine and twentie Sonnets of Boetie*. These Sonnets are not in F., presumably because they were omitted in the 1595 ed. of M.; but as they appeared in all the editions of M. during the essayist's lifetime (notably the 1st and 5th, 1580 and 1588), it has been thought well to give them at the end of these notes.
26. *in their behalfe*, ? in behalf of Divinity and Philosophy. —*Coste*.
27. *it is the chiefest of*, the chief end of it is.
30. *Although our spirituall, etc.* The punctuation would be nearer M.'s if no period preceded "Although," and if one followed "paine."
30. *poison*, fish, *i.e.*, fish more appetising than flesh; a confusion of *poisson* and *poison*.
31. penult. After "sacrifice" add "to the gods."

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39 and 40. *It is a nation . . . or mettle. Cf.* Shakespeare's *Tempest*, II. i. lines 147–154. The speech of Gonzalo was clearly derived from this passage. The copy of Florio (1603), with Shakespeare's autograph, is in the British Museum.

42. *restraint*, refrain.

44. After "mountaines" add "further inland."

47. Before "an invincible courage" add "the grandeur of."

47. *or shew any feare*, or so much as beg that he may not be so killed and eaten.

48. After "except" add "at the most."

55. After "would joyne" add "willingly."

56. *his taste, i.e.*, the people's taste.

59. The quotation from Seneca should end with the words "of falling."

59. *this consonant*, similar words.

60. *I will not omit*, "ie ne veulx obmettre," M.; I will omit A, B, and C.

64. *all parts . . . content*, all other parts to his satisfaction [omit "over-tired"].

64. *he*, A; she, B and C.

65. After "Leontines, his father," add "really."

69. *force . . . contradictions*, overstep the barrier of custom.

69. *all necessaries*. The French idiom is "needle and thread."

72. *who may worthily*. The antecedent is the Polish king, Étienne Bathory.—*Coste*.

75. The words *contrarie to the common sort* belong to the second clause of the sentence, and should come after, not before, the colon.

75. *Theatines:* Feuillants, M.

76. *forces:* "jambes," M.

77. *Potidæa*. Le Clerc points out that this should be Platæa in M.

77. *warrant . . . imputation*, wipe out . . . shame.

80. *consecutively*, A; consequently, B and C.

83. After "young virgins" add "well-born."

84. *A ( ) etc.*, A, B, and C; "Bran du fat," M. Confound the fool.

87. There should be no full stop before "Contagion"; it follows on as the conclusion of the clause beginning "Nevertheless."

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89. Before "hollow rocks" add "deserts."
95. *without joining:* "sans y mesler," M.; with joyning, A, B, and C.
101. *middle of this counsell*, means of this counsell [*i.e.*, that of Pliny to Rufus.—*Coste*].
103. *squat . . . forme*, inhabit one and the same home.
104–6. The whole of the passage "You have . . . or name" is in quotation marks in M., and not simply the part in italics in F.
105. A full stop is needed at "companie." It would be better to omit "there are waies for it," the next sentence beginning with "Untill such time."
106. *the two first*, Pliny the younger and Cicero.—*Coste.*
107. Before *Scipio* and *Lelius* add "certainly."
107. *raise a man to worth*, value a man.
110. After "shal unfold" add "a little more curiously" [or carefully].
112. *I cannot . . . dreame*, I cannot save in dreaming; neither forge vain names to whom to address myself on serious subjects, for I am a sworn enemy, etc.
112. *respective*, respectful.
115. *that that*, A, B, and C; one "that" is superfluous.
116. After "contrarie" add "in them."
116. *parts*, enemies.—*Coste.*
118. *threw off*, was throwing off.
119. *Your selfe . . . to morrow night*, "Yourself shortly, if it be his good pleasure." "Shall I really be there to-morrow night?"
119. *losses, miseries, and calamities*, and retakings.
122. Before "The terme" add "As for the remainder of them."
122. *more than fifty*, fifty.
122. *without . . . end*, without apparent reason, and with an ardent and determined hunger [of dying].
125. *Aut fuit . . . in illa.* This line is by Estienne de La Boëtie.
126. *we falsely excuse our selves.* This clause belongs to the sentence that follows it, not to that to which it is attached.
127. *nec risu*, A; risu, B and C.

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129. *single. well-nigh . . . as they shew:* "uns, à peu prez, en chasque espece, ainsy qu'elles montrent," M.; ? they show this well-nigh in every kind.
130. Before "in the next River" add "take their baths."
131. No break is needed between "conception" and "The beauteous."
132. *checks his effect*, reprehend his fault.
134. After "gush out bloud" add "in good earnest."
137. *from his charge*, from the occupations of his work.
137. *and time . . . in study*, and all the time that he employed therein [*i.e.*, in his repast, not in study; "qu'il y employoit," M.].
138. *but for our use*, but rather ourselves; "ains à nous," M.
138. *to run a false gallop*, to have a too poor appreciation (*Coste*); "a fauls fret," M.
138. *charge of affaires*, change of affairs, M.
139. *So that . . . deceitful*, "en maniere que j'en rendois ma loyauté mesnagiere, et aulcunement piperesse," M. Coste and Le Clerc approve the translation by Cotton of this passage, "So that I practised at once a thrifty and withal a kind of alluring honesty."
140. After "they remember not" add "Firstly [see "Secondly" on p. 141, l. 2].
143. *I at the least . . . doe it*, yet it cost me somewhat to prevent myself from doing it.
144. *thus*, A; this, B and C.
145. *a farre and chargeable journey.* M. probably refers to his Italian travels in 1580–81.
147. *consultation or meetings*, collection nor disbursement.
149. *replications*, A; replication, B and C.
153. *unto this other*, "to that of which I have just spoken." No break is needed between "other" and "He."
154. *colour*, the beauty of his colour.
155. *if it want his lyning*, if you saw it out of its scabbard.
157. *yet are they but pictures.* M. returns to his subject of the slight difference between kings and other men.
158. *volantes*, A; voluntas, B and C.
159. The speech of Alexander ends with the words "gods wounds."
161. l. 2, *it no more*, A; it more, B and C.

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162. No break is needed between "things" and "I."
163. *high-minded men*, choir-boys, "enfants de chœur."
164. *besides*, A and B; sides, C.
165. *we goe very farre with our Kings*, *i.e.*, we go far towards kingship.
166. After "and knows" add "of him."
168. *It is for Gods . . . Ambrosia.* This sentence should be in brackets, to make it clear that the pronoun "They" which follows refers to "Princes."
170. *dainties:* "turbot," M.
170. *better fashions*, better exterior fashions.
173. After "despised" add "and contemned."
174. *pace*, A; place, B and C.
174. l. 3, *and that*, and although.
175. *defeat himselfe*, destroy himself; "à se desfaire," M.
177. The brackets before "for" and after "battell" are unnecessary where they are: in A the second bracket was lower down, between "fight" and "they say."
183. last line. There should be a break between "same" and "ten": the clause beginning with the latter word belongs to the sentence that follows it.
185. Montaigne's arms: "d'azur semé de trefles d'or, à une patte de lyon de mesme, armee de gueules, mise en fasce."
186. *infinitie, and immensitie*, infinity, immensity, and eternity [infinite, B and C].
186. *here*, A and B; her, C.
186. *that Σ. did sue T.:* an allusion to Lucian's Judgment of the Vowels.—*Le Clerc.*
186. *must be paid with*, should be paid for.
188. A period is required between "it" and "nevertheless."
189. *Vince*, A; Vinse, B and C.
192. *should seeme to yeeld, etc.*, it might be urged in favour of the first . . . that it is ever, etc.
192. *And might also encline, etc.*, It might, however, be urged on the other side, etc.
194. *Demogacles*, Megacles.
200. last line. *Romanes*, romances.
201. *affront them*, affront and attack them.

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204. *undantedly*, undoubtedly.

208. *bowes*, A; blowes, B and C.

209. "in number" are the last words of the extract from Cæsar.

210. *The Courtier*, a work published in Italian by Balthasar Castiglione in 1528.—*Cotte.*

212. *hether*, A and B; nether, C; h. Indies = Indies of this side; "deçà," M.

214. *and which . . . exceed others*, and we do not admit others at shows.—*Le Clerc.*

217. *his owne customes*, their own [*i.e.*, the people's] customs —the singular pronoun referring throughout this page to "the people."

217. *his*, A and B; this, C.

219. *as our French . . . taken up.* It would be more clear if the brackets were omitted: the habit of the French women having reference to the forehead, the Romans to the entire body.

220. *humilitie*, as a caress.

222. *cold water . . . lowe parlers*, in their lower rooms fresh and clear water to course in streams under them.

223. *more strong*, less strong; "à mesure qu'elles sont moins fortes," M.

223. *maketh for the purpose*, gave weight to the fact.

223. *for in . . . reade it:* not in M.

223. *made it not daintie*, scrupled not.

228. *authoritie, riches*, authority, knowledge, riches.

228. After "manners" add "on the contrary, she is dragged by them in their train, and they mould her after their pattern."

228. After "Alexander" omit "as I am": the person drinking and talking is Alexander, not M.

229. *equall unto another*, as much as any other parcel or occupation.—*Cotte.*

230–1. *disalowed of . . . for them*, he did not find men worth the causing so much trouble.

231. The quotation from Hegesias ends with the words "performed for him."

234. After "his house" add "till his death."

239. *yet doth, i.e.*, yet doth last.

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242. l. 1. After "worthily" add "in my opinion."
243. After "faintnesse" add "and distaste."
243. *darts*, A and B; parts, C.
244. l. 4. *which*. The antecedent is the middle class of people.
244. *beget . . . the first*, beget and create even as it spoileth and destroyeth the first.
245. The words "and homely gigs and countrie songs" should preferably follow "Gasconie."
251. After "or businesse" add "wherein prayer may be used."
253. Before "grace" add "Benediction and at."
255. *who these latter yeares*. The relative has reference to those who have reproached Catholics.
256. l. 1. *fortune*, present fortune.
256. *tempted*, A; attempted, B and C.
259. After "enquire after" add "even."
261. *alteration*, altercation.
264. *produce God*, produce the name of God.
268. *enterposed betweene both*, thrown in his way.
269. *I blame . . . condemne most*, I find fault on the other side.
269. *cottage or farme*. M. says "gutter."

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INDEX OF WORDS

In the case of words of frequent occurrence the first appearance is, as a rule, the only one given.

A = Florio, 1603; B = Florio, 1613; C = Florio, 1632; M = Montaigne.

ABATED, thrown back (M. *reiaillissent*), 243.
ABECEDARIE, rudimentary, 244.
ABJECTS (subst.), mean folk, 157.
ABROAD, uncovered, open to view, 154.
ABSTERSIVE, cleansing, purging, 148.
ACCIDENTS, incidents, 68.
ACCORDS, strains, 23.
ACCREASE, increase as by growth, 14, 146.
ADDRESSED, directed, 3, etc.
ADOE, to do, 120.
ADVENTURE, dare, 190, 204, 226.
ADVERTISED, informed, 15, 59, 144.
ADVISED, resolved, 214.
AFFECT, design, 166; feign, 108, 164.
AFFECTED TO, inclined towards, 22, 77.
AGGRAVATED, worn out, 177.
ALLEGATIONS, quotations, 110.
ALLEAGE, quote, 111, etc.
ALLOW, approve, 75, etc.
ALLURE, willingly subject, 166.
ALONELY, singly, 17.
ALONGST, by the side of, 263.
ALOOFE-OFF, at a distance, 173.
AMATED, paralysed, 79.
AMBASSAGE, embassy, 108.
AMITIES, friendships, 3, etc.
AMPHIBOLOGY, ambiguity, 223.
ANCIENTLY, formerly, 213.
A NEW, afresh, 175, 190.
A NIGHTS, at night, 117 (not in M.).
ANSWERING, like unto, 112.
ANTARTIKE FRANCE, Brazil, 33.
APPANAGE, inheritance, 183.
APPARENCE, appearance, show, 34, etc.
APPLAUDETH, approveth, 24, 170.
APRENTISSAGE, beginning, apprenticeship, 108, 271.
ARME, "to a.," to admit of arms, 172.
ARRAS, tapestry, 159.
ARTIFICIALL POESIE, poetry according to art, 245.
ASPERS, small Turkish coins, 134.
ASSAIES, "at all a.," at all points, in every way, 127, 160, 201.
ASSAY, ASSAIED, try, tried, 5, etc.
ASSURE, "from . . . assure themselves," in . . . rely, 122.
ATTACH, overtake, 208.
ATTIKE MINES, an Attic mina of silver equalled 100 drachmæ, and was worth about £3, 6s. 8d., 65.
AUDITORIE, audience, 42, 80, 111.
AVAILFULL, helpful, 9, 46.
AVOUCH, confess, 107.
AVOID, quit it, begone, 120.
AWEFULL, reverential, 52, 257, 260.

BALEFULL, evil, 136, 137, 159.
BANDIED, assembled, 184.
BANDY, contend, toss to and fro, a tennis term, 115, 130, 228.
BARDELS, saddle-pads, 209.
BARKE, shout, 156, line 31; skin, line 32.
BARRES, barriers, 198.
BASE AND VILE, sordid, 99; unmanly, 209.

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BATTELL, "alongst the maine b.," by the main battalion, 178.
BEAD-ROWLE, list of people, especially of those worth remembering, 123.
BEDLAM, madman, 161.
BEDSTEAD, bed-canopy (M. *ciel*), 159.
BEHOOVEFULL, needful, 102, 109.
BESO LAS MANOS, kiss the hands, 172, 220.
BESTEAD HER, are of use to her, 129.
BINDE, oblige, 15.
BLEARE, dim, 48.
BLOCKISH, stupid, 52.
BONNET, hat, applied to a man's covering, 72.
BORDURERS, borderers, frontier neighbours, 62.
BOSCAGE, foliated ornamentation, 1.
BOUGE, stir, 178, etc.
BOWLE, ball, *i.e.* vain play, 55.
BRAVE, taunt, 51.
BRAWNE, muscle, 70.
BROACHES, spits, 44; spur, 213.
BUMBASTING, padding, 172.
BUSIE (verb), 232.
BUT FOR, but that for, 83.
BY AND BY, instantly, 84.
BYASE, inclination, tendency, originally a term in bowls, 25, etc.
BY COLD, for coldness, 147.

CANVASE, labour, seek the accomplishment of desire, 87; CANVASED, discussed, 250.
CARE AND COMPULSION, constraint and searching of heart, 143.
CARIERE, career, course (originally running a charge, a tournament term), 55, etc.
CARKING, troublous, anxious, 99, 138, 141.
CARRIER, path, 174.
CAST, devise, 94.
CAUTELOUS, artful, insidious, 233.
CHAFING DISHES, portable warming vessels, 222.
CHAMOY-JERKINS, chamois jackets, 171.
CHAMPAINE, open fields, 40.
CHAPS, mouth, 64.
CHARGE, expense, 48, 145; place (verb), 78; "great charge," strict orders, 61.
CHARGES, employments, 87, 114, 168.
CHAST-HOUSE, virtuous, chaste house, 182.
CHEAPE, "better c.," cheaper, 211.
CICATRICE, scar, 134.
CIMITARIES, scimitars, 216.
CINGLING, bracing with a girth, 134.
CLAP, "at one c.," at once, 32.
CLOYSOME, cloying, 163.
COIFS, head-gear, 71.
COLD, spiritless, far-fetched, 180.
COLLEGES, congregations, convents, 140.
COMFORTABLE, strengthening (M. *salutaires*), 9.
COMICAL, humorous, free and easy, 112.
COMMERCE, intercourse, companionship, 112, 230, 262.
COMMIXTURE, COMMIXETH, mixture, mixes, 4, etc.
COMMODITY, benefit, advantage, 9, etc.
COMPLEXIONS, natures, 83, 97, 246.
COMPLOTTING, conspiring, 175, 182, 262.
COMPOSITION, agreement, truce, terms, 116, etc.
COMPOSITIONS, writings, 187, 250.
COMPOUNDED, mixed, 219.
CONDITION, habit, 142.
CONFRONTED, disappointed or eluded (M. *chouf*), 136.
CONICATCH, entrap, impose upon (cony=rabbit), 43.
CONJOYNED, joined, 10.
CONSEQUENCE, "by c.," consequently, 129, 230; "in c. by," in c. of, 75.
CONSORTED, in harmony, 100.
CONSTANTLY, with constancy, firmly, 119, 123.
CONTAINE, keep, 105.
CONTINUANCE, duration, 267.
CONVENIENT, suitable, 108.
CORSELET, light suit of armour, 135.
COSONED, deluded, cheated, 53, etc.
COUCHED, laid, 43.
COUCHETH . . . UPON, applieth . . . to, 227.
COUNTERPOISE, balance, 104.
COUNTERVAILE, compensate, 101.
COURT-HOLY WATER, flattery (*cf. King Lear*, III. ii. 10), 140.

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COUSIN-GERMAN, akin, 179, 236.
CRANES, jesses in hawking, a short strap of leather by which hawks were attached to the wrist, 154.
CRAZED, broken down, 93.
CROTESKO, grotesque, 1.
CROTTA, Crete, 211.
CRUPPER, flanks, 154.
CUNNING, learned, clever, 45, etc.
CURIOUSLY, ingeniously, 241.
CURTINE, that part of a rampart which links the flanks of two bastions, 63.
CUT-PURSE, thief, 264.

DAINED, deigned, 176.
DANTED, daunted, 48, etc.
DARNELL, the popular name for Lolium temulentum, a grass supposed to be the "tares" of Scripture, 258.
DECIFRED, deciphered, 234.
DEMAINES, domains, 35.
DEMISSE, timid, cowardly, 96, 123, 176; DEMISNESSE, baseness, 10.
DESPITE, anger, 190, 191.
DIMINISHING, minimising, 243.
DISALOW, disapprove, 56, 230.
DISAVOWE, prevent, 8.
DISCOURSE, reason, judgment, 10, etc.
DISSEMBLABLE, dissimilar, 87.
DISTEMPER, weaken, 5.
DOALE, dole, store, 189.
DOCTORALL, learned, 244.
DOCUMENTS, precepts, 8.
DREST, groomed, 203, 216.
DREWNE, induced, 191; DRAWNE, carried away, 222.
DRIFT, purpose, 3, 178.
DRILL, run, 222.

EFFECT, "by e.," after all, 236.
EFTSOONES, recently, 82.
EIES DROPPING, blear-eyed, 40.
ELSEWHENCE, in other ways, 69.
EMBABUINIZED, besotted, 113.
EMBELLISHED, bestowed upon, 237.
EMBOGUING, delta, mouth (M. *embouchure*), 73.
EMPAIRE, make worse, 88, 194, 257.
EMPEACH, hinder, 102, 191.
EMPOYSONED, poisoned, 61.
ENDEERE, value at a higher rate, enrich, 60, etc.
ENDOMAGED, damaged, 208, 211, 237.
ENFEOFFE, stamp for ever, 84.
ENFLESHED, incorporated, 254.
ENGENDER, makes, 243, 244.
ENLARGEMENT, release, 28.
ENSIGNES, marks, signs, 194.
ENTER-BEARING, supporting, 4.
ENTER-CALL, mutually call, 46.
ENTER-LOVE, mutually love, 17.
ENTERLUDE-PLAIERS, actors (interludes were performed between the courses of a banquet), 157, 163, 171.
ENTER-PARLY, negotiate, 249.
ENTERPRISE OF, expedition into, 85.
ENTER-SEEKE, hunt after, 67.
ENTER-SHOCKE, charge, 195.
ENTER-WARNING, mutually inquiring of, 67.
ENTRAILES, native country, 197.
ENTREATED, treated, 44.
ENURED, used, accustomed, 20, etc.
ENVEIGLED, led away, 218.
ENVIE, "in e. of," emulating, 49, 63.
ESSAY, trial, 131.
ESTATE, state, 36, etc.
ESTEEMING, praising, 183.
EXCEPT, unless, 29.
EXPECTING, awaiting, 175, 178.
EXQUISITE, "precious," 111.
EYES-TRILLING, blear-eyed, 94.

FACILE, easy, 181, 233, 234.
FADGE, succeed, 24.
FAINE, feign, portray, 39, etc.; desire to, 66.
FAMILIARS, domestic servitors and friends, 176.
FARCED, stuffed as with forcemeat, 249.
FASTEN, catch hold of, 33.
FAULCHON, a broadsword with a curved or scythe-like end, 202.
FEBRICITANT, febrific, feverish, 35.
FEERE, husband, 62.
FESANTS, pheasants, 249.
FETS, ranges about, fetches and carries 99.
FIERCENESSE, haughtiness, 183.
FLEADE, flayed, 31, 95, 133.

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FLEGMATIKE, watery, 94.
FLESHT, carnally minded (flesh, A), 26.
FLUIDITIE, fluency, 80.
FLURTING, scorning, with satirical gestures, 230.
FOMENTS, fomentations, 160.
FONDLY, foolishly, 21, etc.
FORCE, "was the f.," constituted the strength, 9.
FORCED, shaken, 48.
FOREFATHERS, kinsfolk (cousins, M.), 208.
FORGED, worked, beaten out, 102.
FORGER, maker, 141.
FORMALL, regular, 145.
FORME, fashion, manners, 51, 53, 78.
FOUNDRED, disabled (M. *refroidie*), 214.
FURNITURE, covering, 69; harness, 161.
FUSTIAN, mouldy, 236.

GALLYMAFRY, hash, hodge-podge, 180.
GARISH, gaudy, 195.
GENUITIE, nature, 39.
GHESSE, guess, 184.
GIBRISH, meaningless, 76, 265.
GIDDIETH, blurs, infatuates, 218.
GIFTS, whims, caprices (M. *verves*), 112.
GIG, jig, rhymed ballad, 245.
GIRD, twinge, 161.
GIRDING, tightening with a girdle, 134.
GOBBETS, small morsels, 73.
GOURMONDISE, triumph over, 243; GOURMANDIZING, rebuking, 164.
GRANGE, barn, or country house, 41, 43.
GRAPPLE, close fight, 207.
GROOME, valet, 165, 224.
GUIDON, ensign, 62.
GUILT-OVER, gilded, 158.
GULL, delude, 43, 155.
GYPTIANS, gypsies, 130.
GYVES, fetters, 211.

HALED, dragged, 65.
HAPPILY, haply, 261.
HARDLY, barely, 83; closely, boldly, 211.
HARNISH, harness, 211, 216.
HARQUEBUSADA, a shot from a harquebus, 208.
HARQUIBUZIER, marksman, 108.
HARTS-MASTER, master of the choir, 81.
HAST-MAKING, haste, precipitation, 196.
HAVING, "no h.," no real possession, 142.
HEW, hue, 133, 228.
HOLD-FAST, grasp, 6, etc.
HOSEN, socks, 54.
HUDLED, brought together (not necessarily in a confused manner), 1, etc.
HURLY-BURLIES, violent shocks of battle and clamours, 22.
HUSBANDRIE, care of a household or estate, 99, 102.
HYNE, hind, peasant boy, 237.

IDLE, idle occupations, 40.
IMITATE, stop at, dwell upon, 109.
IMPEACHMENT, waste, lessening, 57.
IMPLIDE, transfixed, entangled, 89.
IMPORT, imply, mean, 40.
IMPORTUNITIE, burden, 146.
IMPOSTUME, abscess, 63.
IMPUTATION, "charge him with this i.," reproach him, 176.
INCIDENCIE, "by i.," incidentally, 79.
INCONVENIENCE, mishap, 191.
IN GREAT, as a whole, in general, 178.
INHIBITE, forbid, 14, 36, 261.
INJURIE, rail at, 50, 193.
INJURIES, bitter words, reproaches, 185, 194.
INJURIOUS, bitter, 175.
IN RESPECT OF, IN REGARD OF, in comparison with, 38, etc.
INSIST, resist, 175.
INSTITUTION, training, education, 131, 234.
INTENT, intention, 21, 104.
INTERESSED, wronged, 21; gave way to, 130.
INTESTINE, internal, 150.
IN THE PLACE OF, as, 234.
INUTILE, useless, 95.
INVEAGLED, corrupted, 132.

JAW-FALNE, hollow-cheeked, 118.
JOVISSANCE, enjoyment, 7, 98, 239.
JUMPED, agreed, 13.

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LAKEIS, lackeys, 225.
LANCHED, launched, 175, 206.
LAW, liberty, leisure, 189, 198, 229.
LEADEN VESSELS, cueux or queuse, "a rude lumpe, or masse; as of iron, etc., comming from the furnace, or before it be wrought into barres" (*Cotgrave*), 243.
LEAVE, give up, 55.
LENITIVE, soothing, allaying, 148.
LETTETH, hinders, 187, 236, 263.
LIKING, condition, 98.
LIL'D, lolled out, thrust out, 225.
LIST, will, 26, 164.
LIVELY, vivid, 7, etc.
LOWTING, servile, 159, 167, 185.
LURKING, hiding, going into retreat, 97.

MAGNANIMITIE, fortitude, 132.
MAINLY, strongly, 178.
MAIRES, mayor's, 158.
MALAPART, presuming, 255.
MALE, trunk, baggage, 238.
MAMMOCKES, small pieces of flesh, 45.
MANAGEABLE, manifest, 255.
MARE-MAGGIORE, the Black Sea, 34.
MARISH, marshy, 250.
MARRIED, gave in marriage, 16.
MEANE AND INDIFFERENT, middle, 50.
MEANE SORT, middle-class rank, 242.
MECHANICALL, of mean occupation, 171.
MEEDE, reward, 65.
MEERE, pure, absolute, perfect, 19, etc.
MEGRIM, headache, 159.
METTLE, metal, 40.
MILITANT, sharp (M. *vifves*), 217
MILITARIE, pressing, 88.
MOODILY, stupidly, 191.
MORTALL, death, 66; deadly, 254.
MOTIVE TO, inclination towards, 182.
MOWES, mouths, faces, 51.
MOYTIE, half, 53.
MULET, a "great Mule; a beast much used in France for the carriage of Sumpters, etc." (*Cotgrave*), 210.
MUNITE, fortify, 198.
MUNITION-WINES, wines for the victualling of the army, 73.
MUNITIONS, goods, 92.
MURTHERING, murderous, 208.
MUTATIONS, changes, 122, etc.

NAMELY, especially, 42, 175, 202.
NEIGHBOURING, living near, 72.
NEITHER SO NOR SO, not so, 246.
NEW FANGLES, new ways of taking hold of things, 22, etc.
NEWLY, afresh, 190.
NONCE, "for the n.," for a time, 133.
NONCHION, collation, 221.
NON-PLUS, stand-still, 183.
NO WHIT, in no way, 49, etc.

OECONOMICKE, household, 68, 146.
OF, "depend of it," depend upon it, 177, 233.
OF ALL GRIEVANCES, by all g., 129.
OFFEND, hurt, strike at, 44.
OFFENDED, enraged, 178.
OFFER, charge, 104.
OFFICE, "in o.," to his work, 197.
OF-SPRING, birth, 173.
ONLY, sole, 48, etc.
ONLY NAME, bare name, 137.
OPINATIVE, obstinate, 149.
OPPUGNE, oppose, fought against, 150, 182.
ORATORIE, oratorical, 234, 235.
ORDER, good management, 141.
ORDERED, decided, 196.
OTHERSOME, others, 31, etc.
OUGHT, owed, 4.
OURS, ourselves, 49.

PAILLARDIZE, uncleanness, 254.
PALE-BLEAKE, pallid, 133.
PALMESTERS, those who practise palmistry, 55.
PANCHES, stomachs, 214.
PANDERS AND BAWDS, debauchees, 172.
PARLY, discuss, 203.
PARTAGES, divisions, shares, 184.
PARTICULAR, "my p.," me, 270.
PARTICULAR, individual, 120.
PARTICULARLY, separately, 4.

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PASSIONATE (verb), affect with ardent emotion, 86, 96.
PATTENS, shoes, 155.
PELL-MELL, in a confused manner, 119, 207.
PETTARD (verb), blow up, 263.
PICKE-THANKS, servile flatterers, 165.
PILES, lance or javelin, 207.
PITHY, forcible, 113.
PLAUSIBLE, pleasant, 137, 162.
PLAVETH, undertakes the rôle of, 63.
PLOD, toil, drudge, 263.
PLUMB-CHEEKT, plump-cheeked (a play upon *enjoué*, M.), 97.
POLITIKELY, diligently, 49.
PORTERLY, like a street porter, 157.
PORTERLY-RASCALL, a bearer of burdens, 48.
POSSESSE, inspire, 48.
POUTS, eel-pouts, or (?) chickens, 181.
PRACTISED AND SUBORNED, bribed, 64.
PRANKE, trick, 48.
PREALLABLE, preliminary, 11.
PRESCRIPT, prescribed, regular, 76.
PRESCRIPTION, order, rule, 128, etc.
PRESENTLY, immediately, 62, etc.
PREUD'HOMMIE, sincerity, 18.
PREVAILE, make profit, 57.
PRIE, look into, 235.
PRIVATE MAN, individual, 212.
PRODITORIOUSLY, treacherously, 65.
PROGRESSE, "on p.," on tour, 54.
PROPENSE DISCOURSE, reflection, propensity to meditate, 96.
PROPER, suitable, 14, 108; own, 188.

QUAFFER, drinker, 108.
QUAINT, elaborate, 39; elegant, 107.
QUICKE, alive, 31; live, 134.

RANDON, "at r.," at large, everywhere, 27, 258.
RANGE, arrange, 102, etc.
RANGING, wandering, 6.
RARE, able, 67.
REALS, Spanish coins, 216.
RE-APPEALL, recall, 175.
RECEIT, income, 141.
REMISSE, languid, 11; humble, 47, 48.
RENT, income, 141, 154, 165.
REPLICATIONS, replies, 149.
REPROVED, reproachable, 27.
REPUGNING, combating, 124.
RETCHLESNESSE, recklessness, nonchalance, 99.
RETIRE WE THEM, let us call them back, 95.
REVOKE, recall, 30.
RHUME, cold, 98.
RIGHT, exactly, 63.
RIGHTLY, fortunately, 63, 64.
ROANE, Rouen, 53.
ROAT, rote, heart, 200.
ROUGH-CAST, plastered, 238.
ROUND, quick, 113, 122, 125.
ROWTING, turning up with the snout, 247.
ROWTS, flights, 44.
RUB, "live and rub out," endeavour to live (M. *vivoter*), 246.
RUDEST, sharpest, 179.
RUINE, falling down, pouring down, 34, 72.
RUMBLING, rolling, 230.
RYVING, rending asunder, 41.

SACIETIE, satiety, 6, 123, 145.
SACRIFIABLE, about to be sacrificed, 31.
SCANTLING, portion, pittance, 37, 227.
SCIENCE, knowledge, 244.
SCOWRING, "polishing off;" "scap't a narrow s.," had a narrow escape from death, 202.
SCOWRING-PIECE, cleaning-rag, 206.
SEATS, places, 243, 245.
SEELY, simple, 39, etc.
SELD, seldom, 19, 66.
SELEUCUS HIS ADVICE, a popular, though false, form of the genitive, 161.
SEMBLABLE, equal, similar, 11, etc.
SERAILLE, seraglio, 163.
SERVE THEMSELVES, be their own servant, 96.
SETS, anything in lots, in this case his fields of corn, etc., 99.
SETTLED, stayed, stopped (M. *arrestê*), 195.
SET THEIR MATCH, prepare themselves (from the action of priming a slow match), 100.

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SEVERALL, separate, 41, etc.
SHIFT, "s. his clothes," re-clothe himself, 74.
SIDELING, sideways, 209.
SINGULAR, unique, sole, 16.
SINNOWIE, sinewy, 113, 236.
SITHENCE, since, 11, etc.
SMOOTH, polished surface, 156.
SNAP-HANSE, spring-lock, 206.
SODAINE, sudden, 202, 236, 254.
SOONER, "are s.," would prefer to be, 125; "s. smell," more quickly smell, 247.
SORIA, Syria, 34.
SORT, turn out, 56.
SORTABLE, suitable, 103, 260.
SOTTISHLY, foolishly, 113, 230, 244.
SOUNDED, probed, 133.
SPAGNOLIZED, Spanish, 134.
SPAULING, slavering, spitting, 94.
SPIGHT, spite, 106, 132.
SPONDAICALL, slow, solemn, 182.
STALE, make water, 214.
STAY, await, 196, 198; support, 116, 233; "continue at one s. in sparing," keep to one point in economy, 144.
STEAD, are of advantage to, 88.
STEADETH, serves, 41.
STEED, "in s.," instead, 201.
STIPENDS, salaries (M. *trèsadvantageuses conditions*), 67.
STILL, ever, 145, 152.
STINTS, "fits and s.," fits and starts, intermittent, 6.
STOCKADO, a thrust at fencing, 226.
STONE, gun-flint, 206.
STORE, abundance, 32, 214, 222.
STOVES OR HOT-HOUSES, hot baths, "Turkish baths" (M. *estuves*), 223.
STRANGE, polished (M. *pellegrin*), 236.
SUBVERT, overthrow, 21.
SUCCEED, happens, 43, 60.
SUCCESSE, result, 30, 60; conduct, 140.
SUCCESSE OF TIME, course of t., 36.
SUFFICIENCIE, ability, cleverness, capacity, 1, etc.
SUFFRAGANT, secondary, 260.
SUMMERS, supporting beams, 173.
SUMPTERS, pack-horses and burdens, 143.
SUMPTUARIE, relating to expenditure, 170.
SUPPLE, soothe, 98.
SUPPRESSED, overthrown, 79, etc.
SURCHARGED, over-burdened, 26, 38, 59.
SURCREASE, addition, 26.
SUSPECT, suspicion, 158.
SWETHEN, Suabia (M. certainly has "Suede," but Coste has pointed out that this is probably a printer's error), 209.
SWOWNE, swoon, 117, 243.

TABLE, tableau, painting, 2.
TENDER, easy, lax, 96.
TESTONS, small silver coins; M. uses the word *reales* only in this sentence, not *testons*, "a piece of silver coyne worth xviijd sterling" (*Cotgrave*), 216.
THEN, than, 217.
THIRLED, hurled, 207.
THRIFT, fortune, 5.
THRIFTIE HUSBANDS, economisers, 138.
THOROW, through, 117, 208, 213.
THROWES, throes, 130.
TISSEW, gold lace, 170.
TRANSPORTED, ? liable to be carried away, 218.
TRAVELL, labour, 102, 107, 177.
TRIALL, proof, 57.
TRILL, flow, 159.
TRUNCHEONS, clubs, 207.
TURBANTS, turbans, 71.
TURNEYS, tournaments, 163.

UBERTIE, fertility, 46.
UNARTED IN, unused to, 233.
UNFAINED, sincere, 264.
UNHANTED, solitary, 39.
UNMATED, unmatched, 176.
UNTRUSSED, untied, unbraced, 72, 173.
UNVALUABLE, invaluable, 60.

VACATION, vocation, 269.
VALOUR, value, 109.
VANT-GARD, vanguard, 151.
VAUNT, boast, 83, 226.
VENERIAN, lustful, 4.
VENIES, venues, thrusts with the foil in fencing, 190.

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VENTER, adventure, risk in enterprises, 140.
VERTUE, valour, 77, etc.
VILLANNELLES, country ballads, 245.
VISARD, vizor, 83.
VOLUPTUOUSNESSE, pleasure, 58, 101, 160.
VOYDNESSE, inanity, emptiness, 230.

WALLOWISH, insipid, flat, 42, 161.
WARDS, secret springs, 17, 128.
WARRANT, secure, guarantee, 33, etc.
WEALD, govern, 203.
WHILOME, formerly, 23, 33, 48; late, 66, 234.
WILE OR WIT, cunning or ability, 142.
WILL HE, OR NILL HE, whether he will or not, 167.
WIN, induce, 230.
WINCHING, wriggling, plunging, 202.
WIT, mind, understanding, etc., 2, etc.
WITTIE, clever, 242.
WITTINGLY, knowingly, 137.
WITNESSE, confess, 143.
WOT, know, 11, etc.
WREST, extort, 48, 257.
WYER-DRAWNE, extended, drawn out. 22, 257.

YEELD, render, 192.

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TWENTY-NINE
SONNETS OF LA BOËTIE

I

Pardon, amour, pardon ; ô Seigneur ! je te vouë
Le reste de mes ans, ma voix et mes escripts,
Mes sanglots, mes souspirs, mes larmes et mes cris ;
Rien, rien tenir d'aulcun, que de toy, je n'advouë.
Hélas ! comment de moy ma fortune se jouë !
De toy n'a pas longtemps, amour, je me suis ris.
J'ay failly, je le veoi, je me rends, je suis pris.
J'ay trop gardé mon cœur, or je le desadvouë.
Si j'ay pour le garder retardé ta victoire,
Ne l'en traitte plus mal, plus grande en est ta gloire.
Et si du premier coup tu ne m'as abbattu,
Pense qu'un bon vainqueur, et nay pour estre grand,
Son nouveau prisonnier, quand un coup il se rend,
Il prise et l'ayme mieulx, s'il a bien combattu.

II

C'est amour, c'est amour, c'est luy seul, je le sens ;
Mais le plus vif amour, la poison la plus forte,
A qui oncq pauvre cœur ait ouverte la porte.
Ce cruel n'a pas mis un de ses traicts perçants,
Mais arc, traicts et carquois, et luy tout dans mes sens.
Encor un mois n'a pas, que ma franchise est morte,
Que ce venin mortel dans mes veines je porte,
Et desja j'ay perdu et le cœur et le sens.
Et quoy ? si cet amour à mesure croissoit,
Qui en si grand tourment dedans moy se conçoit ?
O croistz, si tu peulx croistre, et amende en croissant.
Tu te nourris de pleurs, des pleurs je te promets,
Et pour te refreschir, des souspirs pour jamais :
Mais que le plus grand mal soit au moings en naissant.

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III

C'est faict, mon cœur, quittons la liberté.
Dequoy meshuy serviroit la deffence,
Que d'agrandir et la peine et l'offence?
Plus ne suis fort, ainsi que j'ay esté.
La raison feust un temps de mon costé:
Or, revoltee, elle veut que je pense
Qu'il fault servir, et prendre en recompence
Qu'oncq d'un tel nœud nul ne feust arresté.
S'il se fault rendre, alors il est saison,
Quand on n'a plus devers soy la raison.
Je veoy qu'amour, sans que je le deserve,
Sans aulcun droict, se vient saisir de moy;
Et veoy qu'encor il fault à ce grand roy,
Quand il a tort, que la raison luy serve.

IV

C'estoit alors, quand, les chaleurs passees:
Le sale Automne aux cuves va foulant
Le raisin gras dessoubs le pied coulant,
Que mes douleurs furent encommencees.
Le paisan bat ses gerbes amassees,
Et aux caveaux ses bouillants muis roulant,
Et des fruitiers son automne croulant,
Se vange lors des peines advancees.
Seroit ce point un presage donné
Que mon espoir est desja moissonné?
Non, certes, non. Mais pour certain je pense,
J'auray, si bien à deviner j'entends,
Si lon peult rien prognostiquer du temps,
Quelque grand fruict de ma longue esperance.

V

J'ai vu ses yeulx perçants, j'ai veu sa face claire;
Nul jamais, sans son dam, ne regarde les dieux:
Froid, sans cœur me laissa son œil victorieux,
Tout estourdy du coup de sa forte lumiere.
Comme un surpris de nuict aux champs, quand il esclaire,
Estonné, se pallist, si la fleche des cieulx
Siffiant luy passe contre, et luy serre les yeulx;
Il tremble, et veoit, transi, Jupiter en cholere.
Dy moy, Madame, au vray, dy moy, si tes yeulx verts
Ne sont pas ceulx qu'on dict que l'amour tient couverts?
Tu les avois, je croy, la fois que je t'ay veue;
Au moins il me souvient qu'il me feust lors advis
Qu'amour, tout à un coup, quand premier je te vis,
Desbanda dessus moy et son arc et sa veue.

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VI

Ce dict maint un de moy, Dequoy se plainct il tant,
Perdant ses ans meilleurs en chose si legiere?
Qu'a il tant à crier, si encore il espere?
Et s'il n'espere rien, pourquoy n'est il content?
Quand j'estois libre et sain, j'en disois bien autant.
Mais, certes, celuy là n'a la raison entiere,
Ains a le cœur gasté de quelque rigueur fiere,
S'il se plainct de ma plaincte, et mon mal il n'entend.
Amour tout à un coup de cent douleurs me point,
Et puis lon m'advertit que je ne crie point.
Si vain je ne suis pas que mon mal j'agrandisse
A force de parler: s'on m'en peult exempter,
Je quitte les sonnets, je quitte le chanter;
Qui me deffend le deuil, celuy là me guerisse.

VII

Quant à chanter ton los par fois je m'adventure,
Sans oser ton grand nom dans mes vers exprimer,
Sondant le moins profond de cette large mer,
Je tremble de m'y perdre, et aux rives m'asseure.
Je crains, en louant mal, que je te face injure.
Mais le peuple, estonné d'ouïr tant t'estimer,
Ardant de te cognoistre, essaye à te nommer,
Et cherchant ton sainct nom ainsi à l'adventure,
Esblouï n'attaint pas à veoir chose si claire;
Et ne te trouve point ce grossier populaire,
Qui, n'ayant qu'un moyen, ne veoit pas celuy là:
C'est que, s'il peult trier, la comparaison faicte
Des parfaictes du monde, une la plus parfaicte,
Lors, s'il a voix, qu'il crie hardiment, la voylà.

VIII

Quand viendra ce jour là, que ton nom au vray passe
Par France, dans mes vers? combien et quantesfois
S'en empresse mon cœur, s'en demangent mes doigts?
Souvent dans mes escripts de soy mesme il prend place.
Maugré moy je t'escris, maugré moy je t'efface.
Quand Astree viendroit, et la foy, et le droict,
Alors joyeux, ton nom au monde se rendroit.
Ores, c'est à ce temps, que cacher il te face,
C'est à ce temps maling une grande vergoigne.
Donc, Madame, tandis tu seras ma Dourdouigne.
Toutesfois laisse moy, laisse moy ton nom mettre;
Aye pitié du temps: si au jour je te mets,
Si le temps ce cognoist, lors je te le promets,
Lors il sera doré, s'il le doit jamais estre.

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IX

O, entre tes beautez, que ta constance est belle!
C'est ce cœur asseuré, ce courage constant,
C'est, parmy tes vertus, ce que l'on prise tant:
Aussi qu'est il plus beau qu'une amitié fidelle?
Or, ne charge donc rien de ta sœur infidelle,
De Vesere ta sœur: elle va s'escartant
Tousjours flotant mal seure en son cours inconstant.
Veoy tu comme à leur gré les vents se jouënt d'elle?
Et ne te repens point, pour droict de ton aisnage,
D'avoir desja choisy la constance en partage.
Mesme race porta l'amitié souveraine
Des bons jumeaux, desquels l'un à l'autre despart
Du ciel et de l'enfer la moitié de sa part;
Et l'amour diffamé de la trop belle Heleine.

X

Je veois bien, ma Dourdouigne, encor humble tu vas;
De te monstrer Gasconne en France, tu as honte.
Si du ruisseau de Sorgue on fait ores grand conte,
Si a il bien esté quelquesfois aussi bas.
Veoys tu le petit Loir, comme il haste le pas?
Comme desja parmy les plus grands il se conte?
Comme il marche haultain d'une course plus prompte
Tout à costé du Mince, et il ne s'en plainct pas?
Un seul olivier d'Arne, enté au bord de Loire,
Le faict courir plus brave, et lui donne sa gloire.
Laisse, laisse moy faire, et un jour, ma Dourdouigne,
Si je devine bien, on te cognoistra mieulx;
Et Garonne, et le Rhone, et ces aultres grands dieux,
En auront quelque envie, et possible vergoigne.

XI

Toy qui oys mes souspirs, ne me sois rigoureux
Si mes larmes à part toutes miennes je verse,
Si mon amour ne suit en sa douleur diverse
Du Florentin transi les regrets languoreux,
Ny de Catulle aussi, le folastre amoureux,
Qui le cœur de sa dame en chatouillant luy perce,
Ny le sçavant amour du migregeois Properce;
Ils n'ayment pas pour moy, je n'ayme pas pour eulx.
Qui pourra sur aultruy ses douleurs limiter,
Celuy pourra d'aultruy les plainctes imiter:
Chascun sent son tourment, et scait ce qu'il endure;
Chascun parla d'amour ainsi qu'il l'entendit.
Je dis ce que mon cœur, ce que mon mal me dict.
Que celuy ayme peu, qui ayme à la mesure!

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XII

Quoy ! qu'est ce? ô vents ! ô nuës ! ô l'orage !
A poinct nommé, quand d'elle m'approchant,
Les bois, les monts, les baisses vois tranchant,
Sur moy d'aguest vous poussez vostre rage.
Ores mon cœur s'embrase davantage.
Allez, allez faire peur au marchand,
Qui dans la mer les thresors va cherchant ;
Ce n'est ainsi qu'on m'abbat le courage.
Quand j'oy les vents, leur tempeste, et leurs cris,
De leur malice en mon cœur je me ris.
Me pensent ils pour cela faire rendre?
Face le ciel du pire, et l'air aussi :
Je veulx, je veulx, et le declaire ainsi,
S'il faut mourir, mourir comme Leandre.

XIII

Vous qui aymer encore ne sçavez,
Ores m'oyant parler de mon Leandre,
Ou jamais non, vous y debvez apprendre,
Si rien de bon dans le cœur vous avez.
Il oza bien, branlant ses bras lavez,
Armé d'amour, contre l'eau se deffendre,
Qui pour tribut la fille voulut prendre,
Ayant le frere et le mouton sauvez.
Un soir, vaincu par les flots rigoureux,
Voyant desja, ce vaillant amoureux,
Que l'eau maistresse à son plaisir le tourne,
Parlant aux flots, leur jecta cette voix :
Pardonnez moy maintenant que j'y vœys,
Et gardez moy la mort, quand je retourne.

XIV

O cœur leger ! ô courage mal seur !
Penses tu plus que souffrir je te puisse?
O bonté creuze ! ô couverte malice,
Traistre beauté, venimeuse doulceur !
Tu estois donc tousjours sœur de ta sœur?
Et moy, trop simple, il falloit que j'en fisse
L'essay sur moy, et que tard j'entendisse
Ton parler double et tes chants de chasseur?
Depuis le jour que j'ay prins à t'aymer,
J'eusse vaincu les vagues de la mer.
Qu'est ce meshuy que je pourrois attendre?
Comment de toy pourrois je estre content?
Qui apprendra ton cœur d'estre constant,
Puis que le mien ne le luy peult apprendre?

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XV

Ce n'est pas moy que l'on abuse ainsi ;
Qu'à quelque enfant ces ruses on employe,
Qui n'a nul goust, qui n'entend rien qu'il oye :
Je sçay aymer, je sçay haïr aussi.
Contente toy de m'avoir jusqu'icy
Fermé les yeulx, il est temps que j'y voye ;
Et que, meshuy, las et honteux je soye
D'avoir mal mis mon temps et mon soucy.
Oserois tu, m'ayant ainsi traicté,
Parler à moy jamais de fermeté ?
Tu prends plaisir à ma douleur extreme ;
Tu me deffends de sentir mon tourment ;
Et si veulx bien que je meure en t'aymant.
Si je ne sens, comment veulx tu que j'ayme ?

XVI

O l'ay je dict ? Hélas ! l'ay je songé ?
Ou si pour vray j'ay dict blaspheme telle ?
S'a fauce langue, il fault que l'honneur d'elle,
De moy, par moy, dessus moy, soit vengé.
Mon cœur chez toy, ô ma dame, est logé :
Là, donne luy quelque geene nouvelle ;
Fais luy souffrir quelque peine cruelle ;
Fais, fais luy tout, fors luy donner congé.
Or seras tu (je le sçay) trop humaine,
Et ne pourras longuement veoir ma peine ;
Mais un tel faict, fault il qu'il se pardonne ?
A tout le moins hault je me desdiray
De mes sonnets, et me desmentiray :
Pour ces deux faux, cinq cents vrays je t'en donne.

XVII

Si ma raison en moy s'est peu remettre,
Si recouvrer astheure je me puis,
Si j'ay du sens, si plus homme je suis,
Je t'en mercie, ô bien-heureuse lettre !
Qui m'eust (helas !), qui m'eust sçeu recognoistre,
Lors qu'enragé, vaincu de mes ennuys,
En blasphemant ma dame je poursuis ?
De loing, honteux, je te vis lors paroistre.
O sainct papier ! alors je me revins,
Et devers toy devotement je vins.
Je te donrois un autel pour ce faict,
Qu'on vist les traicts de cette main divine.
Mais de les veoir aulcun homme n'est digne ;
Ny moy aussi, s'elle ne m'en eust faict.

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XVIII

J'estois prest d'encourir pour jamais quelque blasme;
De cholere eschauffé mon courage brusloit,
Ma fole voix au gré de ma fureur branloit,
Je despitois les dieux, et encore ma dame:
Lors qu'elle de loing jette un brevet dans ma flamme,
Je le sentis soubdain comme il me rabilloit,
Qu'aussi tost devant luy ma fureur s'en alloit,
Qu'il me rendoit, vainqueur, en sa place mon ame.
Entre vous, qui de moy ces merveilles oyez,
Que me dictes vous d'elle? et, je vous pri', veoyez,
S'ainsi comme je fais, adorer je la dois?
Quels miracles en moy pensez vous qu'elle face
De son œil tout puissant, ou d'un ray de sa face,
Puis qu'en moy firent tant les traces de ses doigts?

XIX

Je tremblois devant elle, et attendois, transy,
Pour venger mon forfaict, quelque juste sentence,
A moy mesme consent du poids de mon offence,
Lors qu'elle me dict: Va, je te prends à mercy.
Que mon loz desormais par tout soit esclaircy;
Employe là tes ans: et sans plus, meshuy pense
D'enrichir de mon nom par tes vers nostre France;
Couvre de vers ta faulte, et paye moy ainsi.
Sus donc, ma plume, il fault, pour jouyr de ma peine,
Courir par sa grandeur d'une plus large veine.
Mais regarde à son œil, qu'il ne nous abandonne.
Sans ses yeulx, nos esprits se mourroient languissants,
Ils nous donnent le cœur, ils nous donnent le sens.
Pour se payer de moy, il faut qu'elle me donne.

XX

O vous, maudits sonnets, vous qui printes l'audace
De toucher à ma dame! ô malings et pervers,
Des Muses le reproche, et honte de mes vers!
Si je vous feis jamais, s'il fault que je me face
Ce tort de confesser vous tenir de ma race,
Lors pour vous les ruisseaux ne furent pas ouverts
D'Apollon le doré, des Muses aux yeulx verts;
Mais vous reçeut naissants Tisiphone en leur place.
Si j'ay oncq quelque part à la posterité,
Je veulx que l'un et l'aultre en soit desherité.
Et si au feu vengeur dez or je ne vous donne,
C'est pour vous diffamer: vivez chetifs, vivez;
Vivez aux yeulx de tous, de tout honneur privez;
Car c'est pour vous punir, qu'ores je vous pardonne.

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XXI

N'ayez plus, mes amis, n'ayez plus cette envie
Que je cesse d'aymer ; laissez moy, obstiné,
Vivre et mourir ainsi, puis qu'il est ordonné :
Mon amour, c'est le fil auquel se tient ma vie.
Ainsi me dict la Fee ; ainsi en Œagrie
Elle feit Meleagre à l'amour destiné,
Et alluma sa souche à l'heure qu'il feust né,
Et dict : Toy, et ce feu, tenez vous compaignie.
Elle le dict ainsi, et la fin ordonnee
Suyvit aprez le fil de cette destinee.
La souche (ce dict lon) au feu feut consommee ;
Et dez lors (grand miracle !), en un mesme moment,
On veid, tout à un coup, du miserable amant
La vie et le tison s'en aller en fumee.

XXII

Quand tes yeulx conquerants estonné je regarde,
J'y veoy dedans à clair tout mon espoir escript,
J'y veoy dedans amour luy mesme qui me rit,
Et m'y montre mignard le bon heur qu'il me garde.
Mais quand de te parler par fois je me hazarde,
C'est lorsque mon espoir desseiché se tarit ;
Et d'advouer jamais ton œil, qui me nourrit,
D'un seul mot de faveur, cruelle, tu n'as garde.
Si tes yeulx sont pour moi, or veoy ce que je dis :
Ce sont ceulx là, sans plus, à qui je me rendis.
Mon Dieu ! quelle querelle en toy mesme se dresse,
Si ta bouche et tes yeulx se veulent desmentir !
Mieulx vault, mon doux torment, mieulx vault les despartir,
Et que je prenne au mot de tes yeulx la promesse.

XXIII

Ce sont tes yeulx tranchants qui me font le courage :
Je veoy saulter dedans la gaye liberté,
Et mon petit archer, qui mene à son costé
La belle gaillardise et le plaisir volage.
Mais aprez, la rigueur de ton triste langage
Me montre dans ton cœur la fiere honnesteté ;
Et condamné, je veoy la dure chasteté
Là gravement assise, et la vertu sauvage.
Ainsi mon temps divers par ces vagues se passe ;
Ores son œil m'appelle, or sa bouche me chasse.
Hélas ! en cet estrif, combien ay je enduré !
Et puis, qu'on pense avoir d'amour quelque asseurance :
Sans cesse nuict et jour à la servir je pense,
Ny encor de mon mal ne puis estre asseuré.

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XXIV

Or, dis je bien, mon esperance est morte ;
Or est ce faict de mon ayse et mon bien.
Mon mal est clair : maintenant je veoy bien,
J'ay espousé la douleur que je porte.
Tout me court sus, rien ne me reconforte,
Tout m'abandonne, et d'elle je n'ay rien,
Sinon tousjours quelque nouveau soustien,
Qui rend ma peine et ma douleur plus forte.
Ce que j'attends, c'est un jour d'obtenir
Quelques souspirs des gents de l'advenir :
Quelqu'un dira dessus moy par pitié :
Sa dame et luy nasquirent destinez,
Egalement de mourir obstinez,
L'un en rigueur, et l'aultre en amitié.

XXV

J'ai tant vescu chetif, en ma langueur,
Qu'or j'ay veu rompre, et suis encor en vie,
Mon esperance avant mes yeulx ravie,
Contre l'escueil de sa fiere rigueur.
Que m'a servy de tant d'ans la longueur ?
Elle n'est pas de ma peine assouvie :
Elle s'en rit, et n'a point d'aultre envie
Que de tenir mon mal en sa vigueur.
Doncques j'auray, mal'heureux en aymant,
Tousjours un cœur, tousjours nouveau tourment.
Je me sens bien que j'en suis hors d'haleine,
Prest à laisser la vie soubs le faix :
Qu'y feroit on, sinon ce que je fais ?
Piqué du mal, je m'obstine en ma peine.

XXVI

Puis qu'ainsi sont mes dures destinees,
J'en saouleray, si je puis, mon soucy.
Si j'ay du mal, elle le veut aussi :
J'accompliray mes peines ordonnees.
Nymphes des bois, qui avez, estonnees,
De mes douleurs, je croy, quelque mercy,
Qu'en penses vous ? puis je durer ainsi,
Si à mes maulx trefves ne sont donnees ?
Or, si quelqu'une à m'escouter s'encline,
Oyez, pour Dieu, ce qu'ores je devine :
Le jour est prez que mes forces jà vaines
Ne pourront plus fournir à mon torment.
C'est mon espoir : si je meurs en aymant,
A donc, je croy, failliray je à mes peines.

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XXVII

Lors que lasse est de me lasser ma peine,
Amour, d'un bien mon mal refreschissant,
Flate au cœur mort ma playe languissant
Nourrit mon mal, et luy faict prendre haleine
Lors je conceoy quelque esperance vaine:
Mais aussi tost ce dur tyran, s'il sent
Que mon espoir se renforce en croissant,
Pour l'estouffer, cent torments il m'ameine.
Encor tout frez: lors je me veois blasmant
D'avoir esté rebelle à mon tourment.
Vive le mal, ô dieux, qui me devore!
Vive à son gré mon tourment rigoureux!
O bien-heureux, et bien-heureux encore,
Qui sans relasche est tousjours mal'heureux!

XXVIII

Si contre amour je n'ay aultre deffence,
Je m'en plaindray, mes vers le mauldiront,
Et aprez moy les roches rediront
Le tort qu'il faict à ma dure constance.
Puis que de luy j'endure cette offence,
Au moings tout hault mes rhythmes le diront,
Et nos neveux, alors qu'ils me liront,
En l'oultrageant, m'en feront la vengeance.
Ayant perdu tout l'ayse que j'avois,
Ce sera peu que de perdre ma voix.
S'on sçait l'aigreur de mon triste soucy,
Et feust celuy qui m'a fait cette playe,
Il en aura, pour si dur cœur qu'il aye,
Quelque pitié, mais non pas de mercy.

XXIX

Jà reluisoit la benoiste journee
Que la nature au monde te debvoit,
Quand des thresors qu'elle te reservoit
Sa grande clef te feust abandonnee.
Tu prins la grace à toy seule ordonnee;
Tu pillas tant de beautez qu'elle avoit,
Tant qu'elle, fiere, alors qu'elle te veoit,
En est par fois elle mesme estonnee.
Ta main de prendre enfin se contenta:
Mais la nature encor te presenta,
Pour t'enrichir, cette terre où nous sommes.
Tu n'en prins rien; mais en toy tu t'en ris,
Te sentant bien en avoir assez pris
Pour estre icy royne du cœur des hommes.

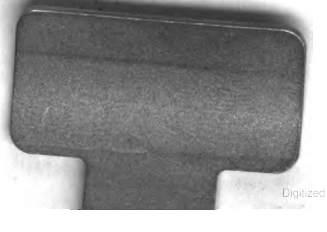
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